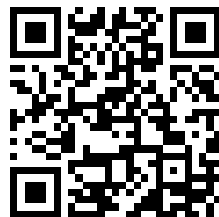

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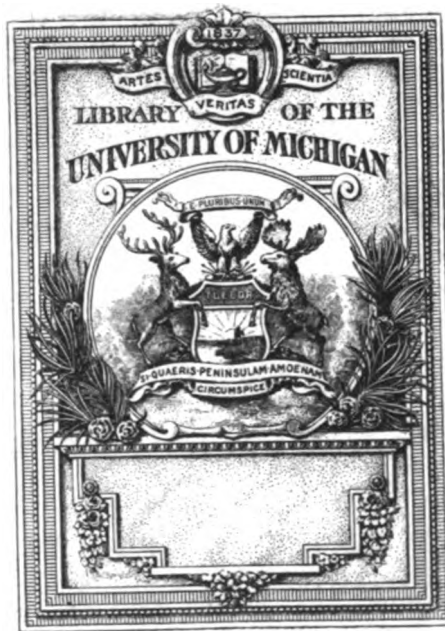
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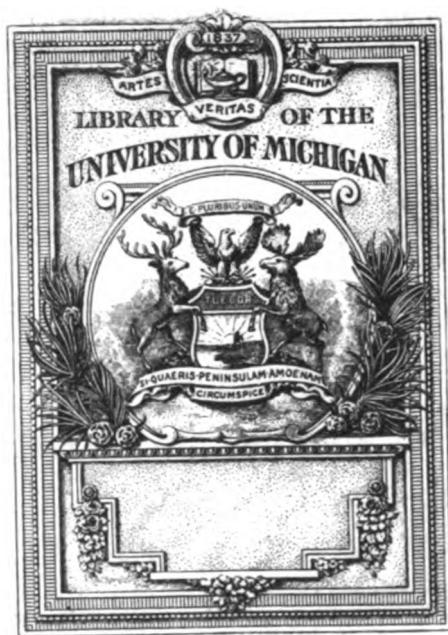




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VOLUME XXI

OCTOBER, 1904

NUMBER 1

THE STRUCTURE OF HOSEA 7:8—14:10.¹

BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

8. *The Confusion of the Nation: 7:8—8:3.*

This section falls into three strophes of 12 + 12 + 4 lines, of prevaillingly tetrameter movement. The parallelism is unusually regular, and there is apparently a grouping of the couplets in pairs, the first and second strophes consisting of three such pairs, and the fourth, which is the climax of the piece, having but one pair.

Strophe I (vss. 8-12) represents Israel as blindly losing herself among the nations, arrogantly rejecting Yahweh, thereby challenging his punishment, and fluttering hither and thither like a silly dove, only to be caught in the net.

Strophe II (vss. 13-16) announces Yahweh's message of destruction to her since she has been false toward him, desirous of only material pleasures, and ungratefully regardless of all his mercies; her proud princes shall fall by the sword.

Strophe III (8:1-3) graphically announces the approaching onslaught of Assyria, and the panic-stricken appeal of Israel to Yahweh who will no longer help her.

The following modifications of the text are involved in this treatment:

(a) The clause **אִסְרִים כְּשִׁמְעַ לְעִדָּהֶם** in vs. 12c is transferred to follow vs. 10. This is supported by the fact that (1) the

¹For a similar treatment of 1:2-7:7, see *AJSL.*, Vol. XVII (1900), pp. 1-15; XX (1904), pp. 85-94.

clause is superfluous in vs. 12, the thought of punishment having been already fully expressed; (2) the prosaic speech of 12c is out of harmony with the figurative language of vss. 11 and 12; and (3) 12c furnishes exactly the conclusion required for the thought of vs. 10.

(b) The line beginning **ואנכי אפרים** (vs. 13c) is regarded as being incomplete, two words having been lost.

(c) The words **זו לעגם** (vs. 16c) are taken as a gloss intended to explain **זעם לש**.²

(d) The latter half of 8:1 is omitted as a Deuteronomic interpolation.³

I

אפרים בעמים הוא יתבולל (7:8)
 אפרים היה ענה בליהפוכה:
 (9) אכלו זרים כחו והוא לא ידע
 גם-שיבה זרקוהו והוא לא ידע:
 (10) וענה גאון ישראל בפניו
 ולא שבו אליהוהו אלהיהם
 ולא בקשהו בכל זאת:
 (12c) אִי־סֶרֶם בְּשׁוֹבֵעַ לְצִרְתָּם⁴
 (11) ויהי-אפרים כיונה פותה איך-לב
 מצרים קראו אשור הלכו:
 (12ab) כאשר-ילכו אפרוש עליהם רשתי
 כעוף השמים אורידם

II

(13) אוי להם כי נדדו ממני
 שד להם כי פשעו בי
 * * * * *
 ואנכי אפרים
 והמה דברו עלי כזבים:
 (14) ולא זעקו אלי בלבם
 כי-ייללו על-מזבחיהם⁵ על-ידגו וחירושו
 יתגורדו⁶ יסורו⁷ בי:
 (15) ואני יסרתי חזקתי ורועתם

² Cf. Oort, who omits them as a case of corrupt dittography of **זעם לש**.

³ So also Nowack and Oort. Marti omits all of 8:1-2 as marginal notes. See my *Amos and Hosea* (in press), pp. 308 sq.

⁴ אִי־סֶרֶם; as above, Graetz, Nowack, Oettli, Halévy.

⁵ קְשָׁמַע; as above, Gardner, *AJSL*, Vol. XVIII, p. 180; cf. Ps. 16:11; Job 10:15; 14:1.

⁶ מִשְׁקִיבֹתָם; as above, Gardner.

⁷ יִתְגֹּרְדוּ; as above, Houtsma, Sobok, Vollers, Cheyne, Graetz, Wellhausen, Guthe, Revised Version (margin), Nowack, G. A. Smith, Oettli, Marti, et al.

⁸ יִסְרֹרְרִי; as above, Houtsma, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

(16) וְאֵלֵי יִחְשָׁב־רַע: יִשׁוּבוּ לַפֶּעַל¹⁰

הָיוּ כַקֶּשֶׁת רַמְיָהּ

יִפְּלוּ בַחֶרֶב שְׂרִיָּהֶם

מִזֶּמֶם לִשְׁוֹנָם¹¹ בְּאַרְץ מִצְרַיִם:

III (8:1a) אֵל חֶכֶךְ שֹׁפֵר

כִּי נֶשֶׁר¹² עַל-בֵּית יְהוָה¹³

(2) לִי יִזְעַקוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִדְעֻנֹךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:

(3) זִנָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל טוֹב אוֹיֵב יִרְדְּפוּ:

9. *Israel's Kings and Idols Displeasing and Destructive:*

8: 4–14.

This piece is made up of three strophes of eight lines each, the measure being a mixture of tetrameter and trimeter. Each strophe is marked by a division into two halves of four lines each.

Strophe I (vss. 4–6) denounces Israel's kings as being without divine sanction, and pronounces destruction upon the calf of Samaria.

Strophe II (vss. 7–9) pictures the approaching storm of destruction, the first symptoms of which are already apparent.

Strophe III (vss. 11–13) declares that Israel's zeal in worship is futile to turn aside the coming storm, since the worship is wholly unacceptable and offensive to Yahweh who will send the nation into exile.

The original form of this section has undergone much change. The following steps are necessary to its restoration:

(a) The omission of 'לְמִעַן יִכ' (vs. 4) as a gloss which interrupts the continuity of thought, anticipates what is to follow, makes an incomplete line and mars the symmetry of the strophic arrangement.

(b) The omission of עַד מָחָי לֹא יִזְכְּלוּ נִקְיוֹן (vs. 5) as a parenthetical remark of some later reader.¹⁴

(c) The omission of כִּכְלִי אֵין הַפֶּן בּו (vs. 8, as a gloss not in harmony with the thought of the context.

¹⁰ אֵל קָל; as above, Marti, Ruben, Nowack.

¹¹ זֶר לַעֲנָם is omitted as a gloss; v. s.

¹² כִּנְשֹׁר; as above, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith.

¹³ 8:1b is omitted as a gloss; v. s. The text reads:

יֵעַן עֲבָרוּ כְּרִיתִי
וְעַל תּוֹרַתִי פִשְׁעוּ:

¹⁴ So also Marti.

(d) The treatment of vss. 10 and 14 as later interpolations.¹⁵

(e) The transfer of **חרה אפי במ** from vs. 5 to follow **עצבים** of vs. 4; this leaves a better connection in vss. 5 and 6, and furnishes a preparation in vs. 4 for the more specific thought of vs. 5.

(8:4) I הם המליכו ולא ממני

השירו ולא ידעתי

כספם וזהבם עשוי¹⁶ להם עצבים

(5b) חרה אפי במ

(5a) אָנַח¹⁷ עגלך שמרון

(6) כִּי מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל הוּא¹⁸

חרש עשהו ולא־אלהים הוא

פְּשָׁבִים¹⁹ יהיה עגל שמרון:

(7) II כִּירוּחַ יִזְרְעוּ וסופתה יקצרו

קמה אין לה²⁰ צמח

בלי יעשה קמח

אולי יעשה זרים יבלעו:

(8ab) נבלע ישראל עתה היו בגוים

(9) כִּי הִמָּה עָלוּ אֲשׁוּר

פרא בודד לו

אפרים התנו אהבים²¹:

(11) III כִּי־הִרְבֵּה אפרים מזבחות²²

היו־לו מזבחות לחטא:

(12) אֲכַתּוּב־לו רַבּוֹ²³ תּוֹרָתִי²⁴

כמו זר נחשבו:

¹⁵ See *Amos and Hosea, in loc.* Marti omits vs. 10a. Oort, Scholz, Wellhausen, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Marti, et al. omit vs. 14.

¹⁶ ~~א~~ ~~ע~~ ~~ש~~ ~~ו~~; for above, see *Amos and Hosea*, p. 314.

¹⁷ ~~א~~ ~~נ~~ ~~ח~~; as above, Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, Nowack.

¹⁸ ~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ה~~ ~~וּא~~; as above, S, Wellhausen, Graetz, Guthe, Nowack, Oettli, Gardner, Marti.

¹⁹ ~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ש~~ ~~בִּים~~; as above, Oort and Nowack.

²⁰ ~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ל~~; as above, Wellhausen and Marti.

²¹ Vs. 10 as emended reads:

נִסְכֵּי יִתְנוּ בְּגוֹיִם עֵתָּה אֲקַבֵּצֵם

וְתַחֲדָיו מַעַט מִמִּשְׁחַת מֶלֶךְ וְשָׂרִים:

²² ~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~א~~ adds **לחטא**; but this is a dittograph of the word in the following line; so Wellhausen, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

²³ So K^{thibh}; Q^{ri}, רַבִּי.

²⁴ ~~א~~ ~~ו~~ ~~ת~~ ~~וִרְתִּי~~; as above, S, V, and most modern commentators.

(13) זבחי הבהבי יזבחו בשר ויאכלו
יהוה לא רצם
עתה יזכר עונם ויפקד חטאתם
המה מצרים ישובו:²⁵

10. *Israel's Exile—A Breaking up of Social and Religious Habits: 9: 1–9.*

This section is especially definite and clear. It contains three strophes of 11 + 9 + 9 lines. Each strophe is introduced by a clause of three lines, after which follow perfectly regular couplets. The measure is trimeter.

Strophe I (vss. 1, 2, 4) warns Israel not to rejoice too loudly in festivals and heathenish celebrations, all of which are so soon to cease.

Strophe II (vss. 3, 5, 6) states the cause of the cessation of all joy, viz., exile in a strange land where such celebrations will be impossible.

Strophe III (vss. 7, 8) describes the approaching days of punishment, when Israel's prophets and teachers will become insane with anxiety and grief.

The modifications of the text assumed are:

(a) The omission of **אלי-גיל** from vs. 1 as a gloss on **אלי-שמחה**.

(b) The omission of **דגן**²⁶ from vs. 1 as a dittograph of **גין** vs. 2; this yields a trimeter line and permits **גין** (vs. 2) to follow **גרנות** (vs. 1) as the sense requires.

(c) The transfer of vs. 3 to precede vs. 5.

(d) The omission from vs. 8 of the glosses **עם אלהי**²⁷ and **משטמה**.

(e) The treatment of vs. 9 as a gloss²⁸ inconsistent with the context which deals only with the persecution of the prophets by Ephraim.

²⁵ Vs. 14 reads:

וישכח ישראל את-עשהו ויבן היכלות
ויהודה הרבה ערים בצורות
ושלחתי אש בעריו
ואכלה ארמניה:

²⁶ So also 3.

²⁷ So also Nowack.

²⁸ So Nowack; see also *Amos and Hosea*, in loc. The text reads:

כימי הנבעה יזכור עונם ויפקד חטאתם:

I (9:1) אֶל־תִּשְׁמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּעֲמִים
 כִּי־זִנִּיתָ מֵעַל אֱלֹהֶיךָ
 אֲהַבֵּת אֶחָתָךְ עַל־כָּל־גִּרְמוֹתָ ;
 (2) גֵּרֶן וַיִּקֶּבּ לֹא־יָדְעִים²⁹
 וַתִּירוֹשׁ יִכְחַשׁ בָּם³⁰ ;
 (4) לֹא־יִסְכּוּ לַיהוָה יֵין
 וְלֹא יִעֲרְכֻּהוּ³¹ לֹו זִבְחֵיהֶם
 כָּלֶחֶם אוֹנִים לַחֲמֵם³²
 כָּל אֲכָלֵיו יִטְמָאוּ
 כִּי לַחֲמֵם לַנֶּפֶשׁ
 לֹא־יָבֹוא בֵּית יְהוָה :

II (3) לֹא־יִשְׁכּוּ בֶּאֱרֶץ יְהוָה
 וְשׁוֹב אֲפֵרִים מִצְרִים
 וּבִאשׁוּר טִמָּא יֹאכְלוּ ;
 (5) מִהֲדִתְעִשׂוּ לַיּוֹם מוֹעֵד
 וְלַיּוֹם חֵג יְהוָה ;
 (6) כִּי הִנֵּה יֵלְכוּ³³ אֲשׁוּרִי³⁴
 מִצְרִים תִּקְבְּצֵם מִן־תִּקְבְּרֵם
 מִחֲמֵדֵי כֶסֶף³⁵ קְמוּשׁ יִירָשֶׁם
 חוֹת בִּאֱהֻלֵּיהֶם :

III (7) בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַפֶּקֶדָה
 בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַשְׁלֵם
 יְדַע יִשְׂרָאֵל
 אוֹיֵל הַנְּבִיא
 מִשְׁנַע אִישׁ הָרוּחַ
 עַל־רִב־עֵינֶךָ וְרֹב הַחֲטָאָה³⁶ :

²⁹ אֶל־יָדְעִים ; as above, G, Houtsma, Wellhausen, Oort, Guthe, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

³⁰ בָּם ; as above, G, Y, S, E, Dathe, Ewald, Bauer, Wellhausen, Graetz, Oort, Loftman, Ruben, Guthe, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

³¹ יִעֲרְכֻּהוּ ; as above, Kuenen (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, pp. 312 sq.). Oort, Valetton, Wellhausen, Guthe, Loftman, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Marti.

³² לַחֲמֵם ; as above, Kuenen (*op. cit.*), Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, Guthe, Ruben, Loftman, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

³³ יֵלְכוּ ; as above, Wellhausen, Nowack.

³⁴ אֲשׁוּרִי ; as above, Wellhausen, Valetton, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

³⁵ מִחֲמֵדֵי ; as above, Hitzig, Wellhausen, Oort, Valetton, Oettli, Halévy.

³⁶ חֲטָאָה ; as above Ruben, Nowack ; cf. Marti ; this reading transfers משטמה to the beginning of vs. 8.

(8) מִשְׁטֵמָה עַל-צִפְהָ³⁷ אַפְרַיִם
 נָבִיא פֶה־יִקוֹשׁ עַל-כָּל-דַּרְכָּיו
 בְּבֵית-אֱלֹהֵי הַעֲמִיקוֹ שָׁחַתוּ³⁸

11. *Israel is Corrupt; the Life of Old as Well as Young
 Licentious: 9: 10-17.*

This utterance is expressed in five four-line strophes of tetrameter movement. Strophes I and II are closely related as are also Strophes III and IV; hence the piece might be arranged in three strophes of 8 + 8 + 4 lines.

Strophe I (vs. 10) describes the past life of Israel, who started out in purity but early fell into immorality and idolatry.

Strophe II (vss. 11, 16^{ab}) states that in consequence of this career of sin Israel's glory has departed, the nation is dying out.

Strophe III (vss. 16^c, 12^{ab}, 13) declares that even if children are born they are destined only for destruction.

Strophe IV (vss. 14, 15^{ab}) vividly depicts the utter collapse of the nation and Yahweh's purpose to drive them into exile.

Strophe V (vss. 15^c, 12^c, 17) closes the piece with the announcement that Yahweh has ceased to love rebellious Israel and will make her sons wanderers on the face of the earth.

In this arrangement the following transpositions are made:

(a) Vs. 16 is placed after vs. 11; in its position in **MT** it interrupts the thought, while it fits in perfectly between vss. 11 and 12; the change also relieves a difficulty in the strophic structure.

(b) Vs. 12^c is placed after vs. 15, since (1) in **MT** it has no logical connection with the preceding context and breaks what is otherwise a very close connection; (2) here it constitutes the climax of a series of strong assertions of the threat that Yahweh is about to abandon his people; (3) כִּי of 12^c is tautological when connected with 12^b and גַּם of 12^c is exceedingly difficult after 12^b; (4) in its present position 12^c adjusts itself to the strophic structure, while in 12 it interferes seriously with any suitable arrangement.

³⁷ This word is supplied for the sake of the sense; see *Amos and Hosea*, in loc.

³⁸ **MT** צִפְהָ; as above, Cheyne.

³⁹ These two words are connected with vs. 9 in **MT**. **ע** joins הַעֲמִיקוֹ to vs. 8 as here (so also Oort, Graetz, G. A. Smith). **שָׁחַתוּ** is read as here by Wellhausen and Nowack.

I (9:10) כַּעֲנָבִים בַּמִּדְבָּר מִצֵּאתִי יִשְׂרָאֵל
כַּבְּכֹרֶה בְּתֹאמָה: רֹאִיתִי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם
הַמָּה בָּאוּ בַעַל־פֶּעֶר וַיִּזְמְרוּ לְבַעַל:⁴⁰
וַיְהִיו שְׂקֹצִים כֹּאֲהֵבָם:

II (11) אִפְרַיִם כַּעֲךָ יִתְעַשֶּׂה כְבוֹדִם
מִלְדָּה וּמִבֶּטֶן וּמִהַרְיוֹן:⁴¹
(16ab) הִכָּה אִפְרַיִם שִׁרְשָׁם יִבֶּשׁ
פְּרִי בָל⁴² יַעֲשֹׂן

III (16c) גַּם־כִּי־יִלְדוּן וְהִמְתִּי מִחֲמַד־בִּטְנָם:⁴³
(12ab) כִּי־אִם־יִגְדְּלוּ אֲחֻבֵּיהֶם וּשְׂכֵלֵתֵם מֵאֲדָם
(13) אִפְרַיִם לְצִיד⁴⁴ שְׁתוֹ⁴⁵ בְּנֵיוֹ
וְאִפְרַיִם לְהוֹצִיא לְהַרְגָּה⁴⁶ בְּנֵיוֹ:

IV (14) תִּן־לָהֶם יְהוָה מִדִּדְתָּן:⁴⁷
רֹחַם מִשְׁכִּיל וְטוֹדִים צִמְקִים:⁴⁸
(15ab) כִּלְרַעְתָּם בְּגִלְגַּל כִּי־שָׁם שִׁנְאֵתֵם
עַל רַע מַעֲלִיָּהֶם מִבֵּיתִי אֲגִרְשֶׁם

V (15c) לֹא־אוֹסֶה אֲהַבְתָּם כִּלְיֵיהֶם סוּרִיִּם:⁴⁹
(12c) כִּי־גַם־אֲוִיר לָהֶם בְּשׁוּרֵי⁵⁰ מָדָם:⁵¹
(17) יִמָּאֶסֶם אֱלֹהֵי כִי־לֹא־טִמְעוּ לוֹ
וַיְהִיו נִדְדִים בְּגוֹיִם:

12. *Israel is Wicked in Proportion to Her Prosperity; but an End is Coming of all that She Has Falsely Trusted:*
10: 1-8.

This is a piece composed of three eight-line, or, perhaps, of six four-line strophes. The measure is trimeter with occasional dimeters; in the last strophe the movement is elegiac.

⁴⁰ \mathfrak{S} inserts here בְּרֹאשִׁיתָה; it is lacking in \mathfrak{S} and is superfluous in the measure and the thought, hence is to be taken as a gloss

⁴¹ לְבִשְׁתָּ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{S} : as above, Wellhausen and Nowack.

⁴² So Q^{ri}; K^{thibh}. בָּלִי.

⁴³ of \mathfrak{S} is omitted here as a gloss. כֹּאֲשֶׁר רֹאִיתִי

⁴⁴ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{S} : as above, \mathfrak{S} , Houtsma, Wellhausen, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Oort. לְצִיד

⁴⁵ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{S} : as above, Houtsma; cf. Ewald, Oettli, Scholz. שְׁתוֹלָה

⁴⁶ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{S} : as above, \mathfrak{S} , Theodotion, Houtsma, Wellhausen, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Oort. בְּהָרָה

⁴⁷ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{S} : as above, \mathfrak{S} , \mathfrak{S} , Houtsma, Wellhausen, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Oort. אֶל־הָרִג

⁴⁸ of \mathfrak{S} is omitted at this point as a dittograph of the corresponding words at the beginning of the verse; so also \mathfrak{S} and Bauer. תִּן־לָהֶם

⁴⁹ \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{S} : as above, Hitzig, Ewald, Simson, Guthe. בְּשׁוּרֵי

Strophe I (vss. 1, 2) represents Israel, under the figure of a fruitful vine, as having enjoyed great prosperity only to bestow her gratitude for it upon idols; but these idolatrous emblems, the signs of her guilt, are soon to be destroyed.

Strophe II (vss. 5, 6) describes the carrying away to Assyria of the idol-calf, the shameful token of her wickedness in which she has taken delight.

Strophe III (vss. 8a, 7, 8b) presents the climax of the coming calamity, viz., the destruction and desolation of the shrines, the scenes of Israel's wickedness, the slaughter of the king, and universal terror.

The following modifications are involved in this arrangement:

- (a) The treatment of vss. 3, 4 as a later insertion.⁵⁰
- (b) The omission of **על כבודו כי גלה ממנו** from vs. 5 as a later gloss.⁵¹
- (c) The transposition of vs. 7 to a place between 8a and 8b, a step which does away with the interruption of the thought occasioned by vs. 7 in its position according to **MT** and preserves the climax evidently intended.
- (d) Perhaps **בניחה למלך ירב** (vs. 6) of Strophe II, and **און הטאת** (v. 8a) of Strophe III are also to be treated as glosses; in this case the strophes will have 8 + 7 + 7 lines.

גפן בקק ישראל (10:1) I
 פרי ישניא⁵² לו
 כרב־לפריו הרבה למזבחות
 כטוב־לארצו היטיבו מצבות:
 חֶלֶק⁵³ לבם (2)
 עתה יאשמו
 הוא יערק מזבחותם
 ישדד מצבותם:

⁵⁰ See *Amos and Hosea*, in *loc.*; so also Marti, *Geschichte d. isr. Religion*, p. 167, and *Dodekapropheton*; Ruben; Nowack. The text reads:

(3) כי עתה יאמרו אין מלך לנו כי לא יראנו את־יהוה והמלך מה יעשה לנו:
 (4) דברו דברים אלות שוא כרות ברית ופרח כראש משפט על תלמי שדי:

⁵¹ See *Amos and Hosea*, in *loc.*; so also Wellhausen, Nowack, Oettli.

⁵² **ישניא**; as above, Oettli.

⁵³ **חֶלֶק**; as above, Oort, Valetton, Nowack.

II

(5) לַעֲגֹל⁵⁴ בֵּית אֹרֶן
 יִגְדֹּר⁵⁵ שְׂכֵנֵי⁵⁶ שִׁמְרוֹן
 כִּי אֲבֵל עָלִיו עֲמֹ
 וּכְמִרְיֹ עָלִיו חֲחִילוֹ⁵⁷
 (6) גַּם אוֹתוֹ לְאֲשׁוֹר יוֹבֵל
 מִנְהָה לְמֶלֶךְ יִרְבֹּ
 בְּשֵׁת⁵⁷ אִפְרַיִם יִקַּח
 וִירְבוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִעֲצָתוֹ :

III

(8a) וְנִשְׁמְדוּ בַּמּוֹת אֹרֶן
 חֲטָאֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל
 קוֹץ וְדֹרֶדֶר יַעֲלֶה
 עַל מִזְבְּחוֹתָם
 (7) מִדְּמָה שִׁמְרוֹן מַלְכָּה
 כִּקְצֶה עַל-פְּנֵי מִיָּם :
 (8b) וְאֲבִירוּ לַהֲרִים כְּסוּנוֹ
 וּלְגִבְעוֹת נָפְלוּ עֲלֵינוּ :

13. *Israel's History Consists of Sin; the Fruit of Such Seed is a Sad Harvest—Desolation, Destruction, and Death—even That of the King: 10: 9–15.*

This section treats of the same subject as the preceding, but the strophic structure and the measure prove its independence of the former section. It contains three seven-line strophes of trimeter movement.

Strophe I (vss. 9, 11a) points to Israel's history as a career of wickedness and declares that though she has been prosperous and happy the time of chastisement is at hand.

Strophe II (vss. 12, 13a) declares that there is still a chance to secure Yahweh's favor, but that to this end there must be a complete change of policy, a revolution in Israel's attitude toward Yahweh.

Strophe III (vss. 13b, 14ac, 15) describes the ruin coming as a punishment for wickedness past and present, a ruin overtaking land, city, and king.

⁵⁴ לַעֲגֹלֹת : as above, G, S, Theodotion, Kuinöl, Dathe, Newcome, Oort, Wellhausen, Guthe, Loftman, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, Marti, *et al.*

⁵⁵ שְׂכֵנֵי : as above, G, Newcome, Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, Loftman, Guthe, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Oettli, Marti.

⁵⁶ חֲחִילוֹ : as above, Oort, Graetz.

⁵⁷ בְּשֵׁת : as above, Guthe, Marti.

This arrangement involves the following modifications of the text:

(a) The omission of the later additions, viz., vss. 10, 14b.⁵⁸

(b) The transposition of the phrase **עַל בְּנֵי עֹלָה** in vs. 9⁵⁹ to follow **עָמְדוּ**, a change permitting the passage to yield a sensible meaning and relieving two lines, one of which is otherwise too short and the other too long.

מִי־מִי־הִגְבֵּעָה חֲסֹאת⁶⁰ יִשְׂרָאֵל (10:9) I
שִׁם־עָמְדוּ עָלַי⁶¹ בְּנֵי־עֹלָה⁶²
לֹא־חֲשִׁיגָם בְּגִבֵּעָה מִלְחָמָה;
(11) וְאִפְרַיִם עֲגָלָה⁶³ אֲהַבְתִּי לְדֹשׁ
וְאֲנִי־עֲבַרְתִּי עַל־טוֹב צוּאֵרָה
אֲרִכִּיב אִפְרַיִם יַחְרוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל⁶⁴
יִשְׁדָּד לוֹ יַעֲקֹב:

זִרְעוּ לָכֶם לְצִדְקָה (12) II
קִצְרוּ לְפָרִי⁶⁵ חֶסֶד
נִירוּ לָכֶם נֵיר
וְעַתָּה לְדֹשׁ אֲתִיָּהוּהָ
עֲדִיבוּא פָרִי⁶⁶ צֶדֶק לָכֶם;
(13a) חֲרַשְׁתֶּם רֶשֶׁע עֹלָהָה קִצְרַתֶּם
אֲכַלְתֶּם פְּרִי כְהֵן

כִּי־בִטַּחְתָּ בְּרִכְבֶּךָ⁶⁷ בְּרִב־גְּבוּרֶיךָ: III
(14a) וְקָאֵם שְׂאוֹן בְּעֶמֶד
וְכָל מִבְצָרֶיךָ יִוָּשֵׁד
(14c) אִם עַל־בָּנִים רִטְשָׁה:

⁵⁸ See *Amos and Hosea, in loc.*; cf. Nowack. The text, as emended, reads:

בְּעֶבְרַתִּי אֲנִסְרֶם וְאִסְפוּ עֲלֵיהֶם עֲמִים (10)
בְּאִסְרֵם לִשְׂחֵי עֲוֹנָתָם;
(14b) כִּשְׁדֵּי שְׁלֹמֶן בֵּית אֲרִבְאֵל בְּיוֹם מִלְחָמָה
אִם עַל־בָּנִים רִטְשָׁה:

⁵⁹ So Ruben, Nowack.

⁶⁰ **חֲסֹאת** **ש**; as above, Wellhausen, Nowack.

⁶¹ **עַל** **ש**; see *Amos and Hosea, in loc.*

⁶² **עֹלָה** **ש**; as above, some codices and most commentators.

⁶³ **ש** inserts here **מִלְחָמָה** which is probably a gloss; so Wellhausen, Nowack.

⁶⁴ **יִהְיֶה** **ש**; as above, Nowack.

⁶⁵ **לָפִי** **ש**; as above, **ש**.

⁶⁶ **יִהְיֶה** **ש**; as above, **ש**, Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, Nowack.

⁶⁷ **בְּרִכְבֶּךָ** **ש**; as above, **ש**,⁴⁰ Manger, Dathe, Kuinöl, Eichhorn, Maurer, Ewald, Duham, Houtsma, Wellhausen, Orelli, Cheyne, Graetz, Ruben, Loftman, Guthe, G.A. Smith, Volz, Nowack, Oort, Oettli, Halévy, Marti.

(15) ככה אֵעֲשֶׂה לָכֵם בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל⁶⁸
 מִפְּנֵי רֵעַת רֵעֲתֵכֶם
 בַּשָּׂחַר נִדְמָה־נִדְמָה מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל :

14. *Israel a Child: Yahweh a Father, with all the Love of a Father, even in the Face of Ingratitude and Desertion: 11: 1-11.*

This piece includes four strophes, the first two having six lines each, and the last two seven lines. The movement is trimeter.

Strophe I (vss. 1, 2) sets forth the rebellious, ungrateful conduct of Israel toward his father, Yahweh.

Strophe II (vss. 3, 4) contrasts with this the loving and fatherly attitude of Yahweh toward Israel.

Strophe III (vss. 5-7) declares that in consequence of his conduct Israel must be exiled in a foreign land, since Yahweh has ceased to love him and destines him for destruction.

Strophe IV (vss. 8a, 9b, 10a) describes the struggle in the breast of Yahweh between his love for Israel and his determination to punish the nation for its sins.

In this arrangement the following modifications of the text are adopted :

(a) The omission from vs. 6 of the corrupt dittograph, וּכְלָתָה בְּרִי⁷⁰.

(b) The treatment of vss. 8b, 9a, 10b, 11 as additions from a later hand.⁷¹

⁶⁸ עֲשֶׂה ; as above, G, Wellhausen, Graetz, Ruben, Nowack, Oort, Oettli, Marti.

⁶⁹ בֵּית־אֵל ; as above, G, Oort, Wellhausen, Graetz, Guthe, Ruben, G. A. Smith. Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

⁷⁰ So Wellhausen, Nowack ; cf. Marti.

⁷¹ See *Amos and Hosea, in loc.* ; cf. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 215 ; Volz ; Nowack ; Marti, *Gesch. d. isr. Religion*, p. 133, and *Dodekapropheten* ; Grimm, *Liturgical Appendices*, p. 73. *Contra* : Seesemann, *Israel u. Juda bei Amos u. Hosea*, pp. 28 sq. ; Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaja-Kritik*, pp. 211 sq. The text reads :

(8b) נִהַפֵּךְ עָלַי לִבִּי
 יַחַד נִכְמְרוּ נַחֲוֵמִי :
 (9a) לֹא אֵעֲשֶׂה חֶרֶן אִפִּי
 לֹא אֲשׁוּב לִשְׂחַת אֲפָרִים
 (10b) כִּי הוּא יִשְׂאֵג
 וַיַּחֲרֹדוּ בָנִים מִים (?) :
 (11) וַיַּחֲרֹדוּ כַּצֶּפֶר מִמִּצְרַיִם
 וּכְיוֹנָה מֵאֶרֶץ אֲשׁוּר
 וְהוֹשְׁבָתִים עַל־בְּתִיָּהֶם
 נָאֻם יְהוָה :

I (11:1) כי נער ישראל ואהבהו

וממצרים קראתי לו

(2) כִּדְיִי קָרָאִי⁷² לָהֶם

כִּן הִלְכּוּ מִפְּנֵי

הֵם⁷⁴ לְבַעֲלִים יִזְבְּחוּ

וּלְפָסִלִּים יִקְטְרוּן :

II (3) וְאֶנֶכִּי חֲרַגְלָתִי לְאִפְרַיִם

אֶקְחֵם⁷⁵ עַל זִרְעֹתָי⁷⁶

וְלֹא יָדְעוּ כִּי רַפְאֵתִים :

(4) בַּחֲבִל־אָדָם אֲמַשְׁכֶּם בַּעֲבֹתֹת־אֲהַבָה

וְאֲהִי־לָהֶם כְּמִרְיֹם⁷⁷ עַל מַעַל⁷⁸ לַחִיָּהִם

וְאֵט⁷⁹ אֲלִידוֹ אוֹכִיל־לֹו⁸⁰ :

III (5) יָשׁוּב אֶל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

וְאֲשׁוּר הוּא־מַלְכּוֹ כִּי־מֵאֲנוּ לָשׁוּב :

(6) וַחֲלָה חֶרֶב בְּעִרְיָו

וְאָכְלָה בְּמִבְצָרֵיהֶם⁸¹ :

(7) וְעַמִּי הִלְאֵנִי בְּמִשׁוֹבְתָיו⁸²

אֶל עַל⁸³ יִקְרִיאֻהוּ⁸⁴

הוּא הָדַל לְרַחֲמָיו⁸⁵ :

IV (8a) אֵיךְ אֲתַנֵּךְ אִפְרַיִם

אֲמַגְנֵךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל

⁷² אֶנֶכִּי ; as above, Wellhausen.

⁷³ אֶקְרָאִי ; as above, &, Wellhausen.

⁷⁴ מִפְּנֵיהֶם ; as above, &, S, Michaelis, Dathe, Bauer, Kuinöl, Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, Graetz, Guthe, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, Halévy, Cheyne (*Critica Biblica*), Marti.

⁷⁵ קָחֵם ; as above, &, Ewald, Umbreit, Olshausen (*Gram.*, §232a), Steiner, Orelli, Cheyne, Oort, Wellhausen, Ruben, Guthe, Loftman, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

⁷⁶ זִרְעֹתָיו ; as above, &, S, U, Dathe, Orelli, Oort, Wellhausen, Graetz, Ruben, Guthe, Loftman, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, Halévy, Cheyne (*Critica Biblica*).

⁷⁷ כְּמִרְיָמִי ; as above, S, Oort, Graetz, Valetton, Guthe, Nowack, Halévy.

⁷⁸ עַל ; as above, S, Oort, Valetton, Nowack, Oettli, Halévy.

⁷⁹ אֵט ; as above, Hitzig, Simson, Wellhausen, Guthe, Nowack, Halévy.

⁸⁰ אֵט ; as above, &, Dathe, Manger, Böckel, Eichhorn, De Wette, Houtsma, Scholz, Wellhausen, Valetton, Guthe, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli.

⁸¹ מִפְּצֻרֵיהֶם ; as above, Wellhausen, Nowack; cf. Marti.

⁸² מִשְׁבֹּתָיו ; as above, Oettli.

⁸³ עַל ; as above, &, U, Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, Oort, Oettli.

⁸⁴ יִקְרִיאֻהוּ ; as above, Symmachus; see *Amos and Hosea*, in loc.

⁸⁵ אֵט ; as above, Hitzig, Simson, Wellhausen, Guthe, Nowack, Halévy.

אִךְ אַתָּךְ כְּאִדְמָה
 אֲשִׁימְךָ כְּצִבְאִים
 כִּי־אֵל אֲנִי וְלֹא־אִישׁ (9b)
 בְּקִרְבְּךָ קְדוֹשׁ וְלֹא־אָדָם⁸⁶
 יִנְעַר פְּאִרִי⁸⁷ יְהוּדָה (10a)

15. *Israel's Falsity and Faithlessness from the First, in Spite of Efforts through Prophets, Must Bring Retribution and Ruin: 12: 1-15.*

Chapter 12 represents two traditions of the patriarch Jacob interwoven; the earlier and less favorable one appears in vs. 4a. This unfavorable estimate of Jacob furnished a later editor an occasion to modify it by an insertion representing the point of view of his own times, when the patriarchs had long been idealized. This later view is expressed in vss. 13, 4b-7. In addition to this material there are two other later passages, viz., vs. 1b in which reference is made to Judah, and vs. 14 containing certain historical allusions.⁸⁸ The original piece, viz., 1a, 2-4a, 8-11, 15, 12 (for vs. 15 logically follows vs. 11 rather than vs. 12), forms three very symmetrical strophes of ten lines each, in trimeter movement; in the second strophe the elegiac measure is noticeable.

Strophe I (vss. 1a, 2-4a) represents Israel as he is and always has been, faithless, treacherous, and vacillating, and so deserving punishment; even before his birth he was a supplanter.

⁸⁶ אָבִיָּא : as above, Volz and Nowack.

⁸⁷ בְּעִיר אֶחָדִי : as above, Volz and Nowack.

⁸⁸ See further, *Amos and Hosea, in loc.* The later sections are as follows:

וַיְהוּדָה עַד יָדַע עַם־אֵל וְעַם־קְדוֹשִׁים נֶאֱמָן: (1b)

וַיְבַרַח יַעֲקֹב שָׂדֵה אֲרָם (13)

וַיַּעֲבֹד יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּאֲשֶׁה

וּבַאֲשֶׁה שֹׁמֵר:

בְּאוֹנוֹ שָׂרָה אֶת־אֱלֹהִים: (4b)

וַיִּשָּׂר אֶת־מִלְאָךְ וַיִּכַּל (5)

בִּכְהָ וַיִּתְחַנֵּן לוֹ

בִּיתְאֵל יִמְצְאוּ

וְשֵׁם יִדְבָר עִמּוֹ:

וַיְהוּדָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת (6)

יְהוּדָה זָכְרוּ:

וְאַתָּה בָּאֱלֹהִיד תִּשׁוּב (7)

חֶסֶד וּמִשְׁפָּט שֹׁמֵר

וְקוֹה אֵל אֱלֹהִיד תְּמִיד:

Strophe II (vss. 8-10) denounces Israel as a cheating trader, priding himself on his wealth, and declares that all his money will not avail to justify him before Yahweh who will banish him into the desert as in the early days.

Strophe III (vss. 11, 15, 12) recites Yahweh's efforts to guide Israel aright through the prophets, all to no effect; lies and demon-worship prevail; therefore Yahweh will make Israel's many altars like stone piles in the open field.

(12:1a) I

וּבְמִדְבָּרָה בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל
(2) אִפְרַיִם רָעָה רוּחַ וּרְדָה קָדִים
כָּל הַיּוֹם כֹּזֵב וְשׂוֹא "יִרְפִּי"
בְּרִיחַ "עַם אֲשׁוּר יִכְרֹתוּ"
וְשִׁנָּן לַמִּצְרִים יִזְבֹּלֵנוּ;¹⁰
(3) רִיב "לִיהוָה עַם־יִשְׂרָאֵל"
לִשְׁקֵד "עַל יַעֲקֹב כְּדֹרְכֵנוּ"
כִּמְעַלְלֵינוּ יִשְׁיב לָנוּ;
(4a) בְּבֶטֶן עֶקֶב אֲחִי־אֲדָמִי

II

(8) כִּנְקֵן בְּדֹר מֵאֲזֵנֵי מִדְבָּרָה
לְעֶקֶב "אֲדָמִי";
(9) וַיֹּאמֶר אִפְרַיִם אֶךְ עֲשִׂיתִי
מִצְאָתִי אֵין לִי
כָּל יַגִּידִי "לֹא יִמְצְאוּ לִי"
לְשׁוֹן "אֲשֶׁר הִטָּא";¹¹
(10) וַאֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
מֵאֲרֵץ מִצְרַיִם
עַד אֲוִטִּיכֶךָ בְּאַהֲלִים
כִּיבִי מִדְבָּר;

¹⁰ "יִרְפִּי" : as above, G. Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Halévy, Marti.

¹¹ "אֲדָמִי" : as above, S. Wellhausen, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

¹² "יִכְרֹתוּ" : as above, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

¹³ "יִזְבֹּלֵנוּ" : as above, S. Wellhausen, Nowack, Oort, Oettli, Marti.

¹⁴ "עַם־יִשְׂרָאֵל" : as above, S. Wellhausen, Nowack, Oort, Oettli, Marti.

¹⁵ "עַל יַעֲקֹב כְּדֹרְכֵנוּ" : as above, Oort, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Oettli.

¹⁶ "כִּמְעַלְלֵנוּ יִשְׁיב לָנוּ" : as above, G. Wellhausen, Graetz, Nowack.

¹⁷ "אֲשֶׁר הִטָּא" : as above, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

¹⁸ "יִגִּידִי" : as above, G. Wellhausen, Graetz, Beer, ZAW., Vol. XIII, p. 288, Valetton, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

¹⁹ "לֹא יִמְצְאוּ לִי" : as above, G. Graetz, Nowack, Marti.

²⁰ "אֲשֶׁר הִטָּא" : as above, S. Graetz, Wellhausen, Nowack, Beer, Oettli, Marti.

²¹ "אֲדָמִי" : as above, G. Wellhausen, Graetz, Beer, Valetton, Nowack, Oettli, Marti.

III

ודברתי על הנביאים (11)
 ואנכי חזון הרביתי
 וביד הנביאים אדמה :
 (15) הכעיס אפרים תמרורים
 ודמיו עליו יטוש
 וחרפתו ישיב־לו אדניו :
 (12) בְּגִלְעָד¹⁰¹ אוֹן אֶךְ שׁוּא עָשׂוּ¹⁰²
 בְּגִלְגַל לַשָּׁדִים¹⁰³ זָבָחוּ
 גַּם מִזְבְּחוֹתָם כְּגִלִּים
 עַל תַּלְמֵי שָׁדִי :

16. The Utter Destruction of Israel: 13: 1–11.

The symmetry of this piece is especially noticeable. It contains five strophes of 8 + 6 + 8 + 6 + 8 lines. The movement is essentially trimeter, with occasional dimeters and tetrameters.

Strophe I (vss. 1, 2*ab*) contrasts the powerless Israel of the present with the mighty and honored Israel of the past—the difference is all due to their idolatrous practices.

Strophe II (vss. 2*c*, 3) declares that Israel, idolatrous through and through, must utterly vanish away like smoke or chaff.

Strophe III (vss. 4, 5, 6) contrasts Yahweh's gracious care for Israel in the past with her long-continued ingratitude and neglect; the more he has blessed her, the farther she has departed from his ways.

Strophe IV (vss. 7, 8) presents, under the figure of ravenous beasts, the terrible chastisement Yahweh will send upon wicked Israel.

Strophe V (vss. 9–11) withdraws all hope of deliverance by announcing the destruction of the leaders upon whom Israel is wont to depend.

No modifications of the text are involved in this arrangement.

I

כְּדָבַר אֲפִרִים רַחַח (13:1)
 נִשְׂיֵא¹⁰⁴ הוּא בִּישְׂרָאֵל
 וַיֵּאשֶׁם בְּבַעַל וַיִּמָּת :

¹⁰¹ אֵם בְּלָעָד שׁוּא ; as above, S. Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

¹⁰² אֵם בְּלָעָד שׁוּא ; as above, Wellhausen, Marti.

¹⁰³ אֵם בְּלָעָד שׁוּא ; as above, Hitzig, Wellhausen, Nowack, Oort, Oettli, Marti.

¹⁰⁴ אֵם בְּלָעָד שׁוּא ; as above, S. Wellhausen, Graetz, Valetton, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli.

(2ab) ועתה יוספו להטא
ויעשו להם מסכה
מכספם פתיונותם¹⁰⁵ עצבים
מעשה חרשים כלה
אלהים¹⁰⁶ להם הם אמרים

(2c) II עם זבחים לַשָּׁדִים¹⁰⁷

אדם עגלים ושיקוק;
(3) לכן יהיו כענן בקר
וכסל משינים הלך
כמץ יסער מנרן
ובעטן מארבה;

(4) III ואנכי יהוה אלהיך

אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתִיךָ¹⁰⁸ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
וְאֱלֹהִים זֹולָתִי לֹא־תִדְעַ
וּמוֹטִיעַ אֵין בְּלִחִי;
(5) אֲנִי רִעִיתִיךָ¹⁰⁹ בַּמִּדְבָּר
בְּאֶרֶץ תְּלָאֲבוֹת;
(6) כְּמִרְדִּיתָם וַיִּשְׁבְּטוּ שְׁבוּעַ¹¹⁰
וַיִּרְם לִבָּם עַל־כֵּן טַחְחוּרִי;

(7) IV ואהי להם כמורטחל

כְּנֹכַר עַל־דֶּרֶךְ אֲשׁוּר;¹¹¹
(8) אֶפְשָׁם כִּדְבִי שִׁטֹּל
וְאֶקְרַע סִגּוּר לִבָּם
וְאֶכְלֶם שֵׁם כְּלִבִּיא
חַיִּת הַטֹּהֵר חֲבָקֶם;
(9) שִׁחַתְּךָ¹¹² יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶנְכִי¹¹³
מִי־בְּעֹדֶךָ¹¹⁴;

¹⁰⁵ אע בְּתַבְיִימָם ; as above, Nowack; cf. G .

¹⁰⁶ This word probably dropped out of אע on account of its similarity to the following; so Wellhausen, Nowack; cf. Stade, *ZA W.*, Vol. III, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ אע זִבְחֵי ; on above reading, see *Amos and Hosea*, in loc.

¹⁰⁸ These two words are inserted here on the basis of G and S ; they also complete a line otherwise too short; cf. Oort (*Emendationes*).

¹⁰⁹ אע רִעִיתִיךָ ; as above, G , S , Schök, Wellhausen, Graetz, Guthe, Loftman, G. A. Smith, Marti.

¹¹⁰ אע שְׁבֻעֵי ; as above, Oort; cf. G *cis* πλεσμονη .

¹¹¹ אע אֲשִׁיר ; as above, G , S , P. 16 of de Rossi's MSS., Stuck, Hitzig, Wellhausen, Valetton, Nowack, Oettli.

¹¹² אע שִׁחַתְּךָ ; as above, G , G. A. Smith.

¹¹³ אע אֶנְכִי ; as above, Nowack.

¹¹⁴ אע בִּי ; as above, G , Oort, Graetz, Schök, Scholz, Valetton, Guthe, Driver (*Expositor*, 3d series, Vol. V, pp. 280 sq.), G. A. Smith, Nowack, Halevy, Oettli, Marti.

(10) אֵיךָ¹¹⁵ מֶלֶךְ אֶפְרַיִם וְיוֹשִׁיעַ
 וְכָל שָׂרָיָה¹¹⁶ וְיִשְׁפָּטָהּ¹¹⁷
 אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתָּ
 תְּנַהֲלֵי מֶלֶךְ וּשְׂרִים;
 (11) אֲתִּי־לֶךְ מֶלֶךְ בִּאֲפִי
 וְאֶקֶח בַּעֲרָתִי:

18. *Ephraim Condemned to Sheol*: 13: 12—14: 1.

This piece consists of four strophes of 6 + 5 + 6 + 5 lines of trimeter movement. The elegiac rhythm is distinctly marked; but in Strophe IV dimeter movement is employed for the sake of its harmony with the heavy strokes of doom here described.

Strophe I (vss. 12, 13) announces the end, the judgment, and the collapse of Israel.

Strophe II (vs. 14) pictures a momentary reconsideration, resulting in a reaffirmation of judgment more terrible than before.

Strophe III (vs. 15) specifies the form in which the judgment will come, viz., drought and foreign invasion.

Strophe IV (14: 1) states the consequence of Israel's rebellion against Yahweh, viz., the sword and horrible destruction.

This arrangement involves no modification of the text.

I (13:12) צִרֹר עַן אֶפְרַיִם
 צְפוּנָה הַטָּאֲחֹר;
 (13) הַבְּלִי־לֹדֶה יִבְאוּ לוֹ
 הוֹאִיבֵן לֹא הֶכֶם
 כִּי עַתָּה לֹא־יִעֲמֹד
 בַּמִּשְׁבֵּר בָּנִים;
 II (14) מִיַּד טָאוּל אֶפְרַם
 מִמּוֹת אֲנָלֶם
 אֵיךָ¹¹⁸ דְּבִירֶךְ מוֹת
 אֵיךָ¹¹⁹ קִטְבֵּךְ טָאוּל
 נָהֵם יִחַתֵּר מִעֵינִי:

¹¹⁵ אֵיךָ¹¹⁵ : as above, G, S, and most commentators.

¹¹⁶ וְיִשְׁפָּטָהּ¹¹⁶ : as above, Houtama, Oort, Wellhausen, Valetton, Guthe, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli; Marti; cf. S.

¹¹⁷ וְיִשְׁפָּטָהּ¹¹⁷ : as above, Houtama, Oort, Wellhausen, Guthe, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Marti; cf. G.

¹¹⁸ אֵיךָ¹¹⁸ : as above, G, S, Graetz, et al.

III (15) כִּי־הוּא כְּבִין־מִים אָחִי¹¹⁹ יִפְרִיא

יבוא קדים ויהיהוה

ממדבר עלה

וַיִּבֶשׁ¹²⁰ מִקּוּרוֹ וַיַּחֲרֹב מַעֲיָנו

הוא ישסה אוֹצֵר¹²¹

כל-כלי חמדה:

IV (14:1) תאשם שמרון

כי מרתה באלהיה

בחרב יפלו

עלליהם ירמשו

והריותיו יבקעו:

19. *Later Words of Hope: 14:2-9.*

It is impossible to regard this section as from Hosea himself, since it is, as a whole, thoroughly inconsistent with his entire point of view.¹²²

This piece contains six four-line strophes of trimeter movement. An arrangement in two strophes of twelve lines each is possible, but the fact that each group of four lines expresses a separate and distinct thought makes the arrangement here adopted preferable.

Strophe I (vss. 2, 3a), in the form of a command, predicts Israel's return to Yahweh and prescribes the gift which she must bring.

Strophe II (vss. 3b, 4c) contains her prayer for pardon and the reason why it is to be expected.

Strophe III (vs. 4ab) gives the promise made that Israel will never again have recourse to foreign powers or graven images for assistance.

Strophe IV (vss. 5, 6a) declares in reply Yahweh's readiness to forgive, to forget, and to be merciful.

Strophe V (vss. 6b, 7) pictures the great prosperity consequent upon loyalty to Yahweh.

Strophe VI (vs. 9) asserts that Yahweh will henceforth be Israel's support, idols having been wholly put away.

¹¹⁹ כִּין אָחִים אָחִי ; as above, Wellhausen, *et al.*

¹²⁰ וַיִּבֶשׁ ; as above, Wellhausen, Nowack, *et al.*

¹²¹ אוֹצֵר אָחִי ; cf. GAS.

¹²² See *Amos and Hosea*, in *loc.*

This arrangement assumes the following modifications of the text :

(a) The transfer of vs. 4c to follow vs. 3. This is supported by the fact that (1) **בָּךְ** has nothing in vs. 4 to which it can refer, while here it connects well with **תִּשָּׂא** and **קָה**; (2) the clause has no connection with vs. 4, while in vs. 3 it furnishes the explanation of Israel's gratitude; (3) in vs. 4 it stands without a parallel phrase and interferes with the strophic structure, while here it not only lightens Strophe III, but completes Strophe II in both form and thought.

(b) The omission of **יִלְכוּ יוֹנְקוֹתַיִר** from vs. 7a as a gloss intended to expand and explain vs. 6c.

(c) The omission of vs. 8 as a gloss,¹²³ since it is only a weak repetition of what has already been said.

שׁוֹבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ (14:2) I

כִּי כִטְלַח בְּעוֹנֶךָ :

קָהוּ עַמְכֶּם דְּבָרִים (3a)

וּשְׁבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ¹²⁴

אָמְרוּ אֵלָיו (3b) II

כָּל תִּשָּׂא עֵץ וְקָה טוֹב

וְנִשְׁלַמָּה פָּרִי¹²⁵ שְׁפָתֵינוּ :

אֲשֶׁר־בְּךָ יִרְחֹם יְתוֹם : (4c)

אֲשׁוּר לֹא יוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ (4ab) III

עַל־סוֹס לֹא נִרְכַּב

וְלֹא־נֹאמַר עַד אֱלֹהֵינוּ

לְמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ

אֶרְפָּא מִשׁוֹבָתָם (5) IV

אֶהְבֶּם נְדָבָה

כִּי־יֵשֵׁב אִפִּי מִמֵּנוּ :

אֱהִיָּה כִטְל לִי־שְׂרָאֵל (6a)

¹²³ So also Nowack. The text, as emended, is:

יִשְׁבוּ וְיִקְשְׁבוּ בַצֵּלוֹ

וְיִקְחֵי וְיִקְחֵי בָנָן

וְיִפְרֹחוּ כַגֶּפֶן

זָכְרוּ כִי־נָן לְבָנוֹן :

¹²⁴ **ע** and **ס** contain this word; it is also necessary to the measure.

¹²⁵ **פָּרִי** ; as above, **ע**, **ס**; Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten*, p. 132; Oort, Wellhausen, Valeton, Loftman, Nowack, Marti.

- V
- (6b) יפרח כשושנה
 ויך שרשיו כלבנון :
 (7) ויהי כזית הודו
 וריח לו כלבנון :
- VI
- (9) אפרים מה-לֹן¹²⁶ ער לעצבים
 אני עניתי ואשורנו
 אני כברוש רענן
 ממני פריך נמצא :

20. *The Lesson to Be Learned: 14:10.*

This is a closing word of admonition from a reader in a later period. It forms a five-line strophe of trimeter movement.

(14:10) מי חנם ויבן אלה
 נבון וידעם
 כי ישרים דרכי יהוה
 וצדיקים ילכו בם
 ופושעים יכטלו בם :

¹²⁶ לֹן ; as above, &, Newcome, Ewald, Orelli, Wellhausen, Graetz, Loftman, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oort (*Emendationes*), Oettli, Marti.

THE EARLIEST OCCURRENCE OF THE NAME OF ABRAM.

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED,
The University of Chicago.

The monument upon which this long unnoticed name is recorded, is more extensive and important than has hitherto been supposed, and as no full description of it has been published, I may be permitted to preface a short paragraph regarding the above name, with a discussion of the monument which bears it, confessing at the outset, that this discussion will occupy vastly more space than the account of the name.

We refer to the geographical list of Sheshonk I., on that portion of the outer wall of the great Karnak temple usually known as the "Bubastide Gate," or as the reader will find it upon the accompanying plan from Baedeker's *Egypt*, marked, "Portico of the Bubastides." The monument is not a mere gate, as it is usually designated on the maps and plans of Karnak, and in historical discussions. If its real character is understood, it is a vastly more pretentious work, and an important evidence of the wealth and power of Sheshonk I., the founder of the XXIst dynasty.

A glance at the accompanying plan will show that the columns of the colonnade on each side of the "Great Court," are uniform with the two columns of the "Portico of the Bubastides." Sheshonk I., therefore, who built the portico, evidently designed and probably built the whole. Some later king could, to be sure, have carried out the colonnades in uniformity with Sheshonk I.'s beginning; but fortunately we have the quarry-record of the official, who was sent to the Silsileh quarries to secure the sandstone for the building. This inscription furnishes us heretofore unnoticed information regarding the building and what it was intended to be. It will be evident that in planning the side walls and colonnades of this forecourt, the designer must also have intended to enclose the court in front (west), for without such a front wall or pylon the side walls are useless. In all probability, therefore, Sheshonk I. was also the builder of the great first pylon of Karnak, although since Mariette's time, it

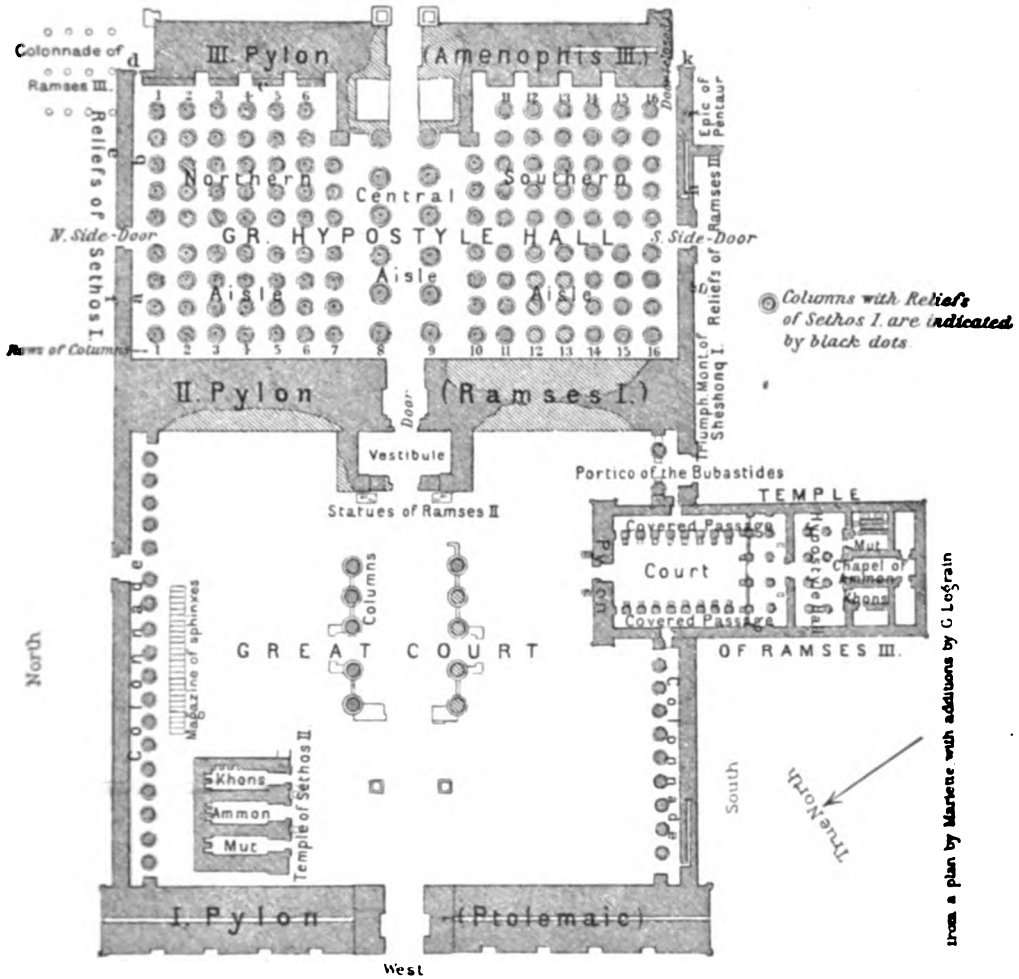


FIG. 1.—Plan of the West End (Front) of the Great Karnak Temple.

(From Biedeker's "Egypt.")

of Harakhte." His majesty decreed that command be given to the divine father (priest) of Amon-Re, king of gods, master of secret things (?) of the house of Harakhte, chief of works of the king, Harem-saf, to conduct every work - - (?) the choicest - of Silsileh, to make very great monuments for the house of his august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes. His majesty gave stipulations for building a very great pylon of - (?), in order to brighten Thebes; erecting its double doors of myriads of cubits (in height), in order to make a jubilee-court for the house of his father Amon-Re, king of gods; and to surround it with a colonnade.

Evidently the plan of Sheshonk I. involved the entire first court of Karnak, including the first pylon. The comparatively small door in the so-called "Portico of the Bubastides," could not be called "myriads of cubits" high, but this term does very appropriately apply to the door in the first pylon, which is the greatest door ever erected in Egypt, or anywhere else, in so far as we know. Moreover, the scribe has written the word "pylon" with a significant sign, being nothing less than a perfect representation of a pylon. Finally, the Egyptian building inscriptions frequently speak of "surrounding" a court with a colonnade, which extends only along two sides, but the two columns in the so-called "Portico of the Bubastides" cannot of course be said to surround anything, even though the area before it might be called a "court." In our opinion the quarry-inscription is conclusive evidence that Sheshonk I. designed the entire "Great Court" of the Karnak temple, including the first pylon³ which forms its front. The purpose of the vast building is also indicated in the quarry inscription; it was intended to be used in the celebration of Sheshonk's thirty years' jubilee, and the beginning of the work in his twenty-first year coincides with this designation of its purpose. Whether or not it was ever so used, we are unable to determine. It was never finished, and the builders' sun-dried brick ramps and scaffolding still cumber the walls beneath the débris of many centuries. This, the greatest temple court ever erected in ancient times, is 275 feet deep and 338 feet wide. The pylon which forms its façade is over 370 feet wide, over 142 feet high, and the masonry walls of its hollow towers on

³ I should not omit to state that Mariette's examination of the pylon itself (*Mar. Kar. Texte*, p. 18) led him to the conclusion that it was later than the side walls and later than the Ethiopians (XXVth dynasty). When in Karnak myself I was not aware of the above data from the building inscription. Mariette did not know of them, and I have thus far been unable to secure a report based on an examination made with a knowledge of the said data.

each side of the central gate are 16 feet thick. It adds materially to our opinion of the power and wealth of the founder of the Libyan, or twenty-second dynasty, when we understand that he was able to plan such vast enterprises as this, even though he died before its completion.- The character of this Bubastite addition to the Karnak temple has been so long misunderstood, that I trust this digression has not been out of place. Moreover we shall now the better understand that such a king should be able to undertake the Palestinian campaign, with which we are to deal.

With slight interruptions Egypt had possessed Palestine from the middle of the sixteenth until the middle of the twelfth century B.C. At the accession of Sheshonk I., about the middle of the tenth century, her claims there had been purely nominal for two hundred years, a court fiction with which the Palestinian dynasts were not obliged practically to reckon. Sheshonk crushed for a time the sacerdotal power at Thebes, which had divided the country, suppressed his rivals in the Delta cities with his Libyan mercenaries, and gradually concentrating his resources, was able to make the Pharaoh's claim on Palestine more than a mere formal tradition. Solomon was not unlikely an Egyptian vassal, even though the Hebrew annals boast that he received in marriage a daughter of the Pharaoh. His Egyptian suzerain extended his territory by the gift of the important Canaanite city of Gezer, a stronghold last mentioned by Merneptah, who captured it nearly three hundred years before. The Pharaoh with whom Solomon had to deal cannot have been one of the degenerate Tanites of the XXIst dynasty, whose last representative was supplanted by Sheshonk I. It must have been an aggressive and powerful ruler, who resumed Egypt's control of Palestine, and there is no other Pharaoh at this time who answers this description, save Sheshonk I. His campaign thither in the fifth year of Rehoboam of Judah, perhaps about 926 B. C., of which the Hebrews later preserved a tradition (1 Kings 14: 25), did not essentially differ from many such expeditions in the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, or as we now know from a newly discovered inscription, even in the XIIth dynasty, nearly 2000 B. C.

Unfortunately the record of this campaign left by Sheshonk I. gives us little specific information concerning its character. He

placed it on the outside of the wall of his new court, on the right of the "Portico of the Bubastides," where it has long been known, and was studied by Champollion and Wilkinson, in the days when hieroglyphic knowledge was very limited. It really consists of a great relief⁴ representing the king sacrificing captives before Amon and the patron goddess or deification of Thebes. The figure of the king has now totally disappeared, as it was evidently only painted and never hewn into the wall. From similar scenes we are able however to restore the conventional figure of the Pharaoh, who stood on the right gathering in his left hand the hair of a group of kneeling Asiatics, who raise their arms appealing for mercy, as their captor brandishes his war-mace over their heads. On the left Amon approaches, extending to the Pharaoh a sword, and leading to him by cords five lines of sixty-five captives, Below these are five lines more, containing ninety-one captives, led by the presiding goddess of Thebes. There are thus 156 captives in all, each symbolizing a Palestinian town, the name of which is in each case enclosed in a crenellated oval, above which appear the shoulders and head of the captive. The accompanying inscriptions are the following:

Over the kneeling captives; who are being sacrificed:

Smiting the chiefs of the Nubian Troglodytes, of all inaccessible countries, all the lands of the Fenkhu, the countries --⁵.

Before the Pharaoh:

Sheshonk I., king great in fame, smiting the countries that assail him, achieving with the sword, that the Two Lands (Egypt) may know that he has smitten the chiefs of all countries.

Before Amon:

Welcome! my beloved son, Sheshonk, -- mighty in strength. Thou hast smitten the lands and the countries, thou hast crushed the Nubian Troglodytes, (thy) sword was mighty among the Asiatics; they were made fragments every moment. Thy victorious fame -- all lands. Thou wentest forth in victory and thou hast returned in might; *thou hast united*⁶ --; I have -- (?) for thee the countries that knew not Egypt, that had begun to invade thy boundaries, in order to cut off their heads. Victory is given into thy hands, all lands and all countries are united --, the fear of thee is as far as the four pillars (of heaven), the terror of

⁴ It is published: Champ., *Mon.*, 284-5; Ros., *Mon. stor.*, 148; *L D.*, III, 252-253a; *Mar. Voy. dans la haute Eg.*, II, 42; and from these often in the histories. These publications are neither accurate nor exhaustive (*Mar.* gives a photo). The list alone has been published by Brugsch, *Geogr. Inscr.*, II, XXIV; Champ., *Not.*, II, 113-119; and a collation by Maspero, *Rec. de trav.*, VII, 100-101. See further remarks on this subject in our discussion of the list.

⁵ On the use of the dashes, see above note, p. 24.

⁶ All italicized words are uncertain.

thy majesty is among the Nine Bows; thou hast - (?) the hearts of the countries. Thou art Horus over the Two Lands (Egypt) thou art - (?) against thy enemies, when thou hast smitten the foe. Take thou my victorious sword¹, thou whose war-mace has smitten the chiefs of the countries.

Utterance of Amon-Re . . . : "My heart is very glad, when I see thy victories, my son Meriamon-Sheshonk, my beloved, who camest forth from me in order to be my champion. I have seen the excellence of thy plans; which thou hast executed, the - of my temple, which thou hast established (for) me, in Thebes, the great seat to which my heart (inclines). Thou hast begun to make monuments in Southern Heliopolis, and every city - - thereof for the *sole* god of its district. Thou hast made my temple of millions of years, - - of electrum, wherein I -. Thy heart is satisfied over - (?) - Thou hast - more than any king of them all. Thou hast smitten every land, my mighty sword was the source of the victories, which I have given - - - all the Asiatics. Thy fire raged as a flame behind them, it fought against every land, which thou didst gather together, which thy majesty didst deliver to it, (being) Montu the mighty, overwhelming his enemies. Thy war-mace, it struck down thy foes, the Asiatics of distant countries; thy serpent-crest was mighty among them. I made thy boundaries as far as thou desiredst; I made the southerners come in obeisance to thee, and the northerners to the greatness of thy fame. Thou hast made a great slaughter among them without number, falling in their valleys, being multitudes, annihilated and perishing afterward like those who have never been born. All the countries came - - (?), thy majesty has destroyed them in the space of a moment. I have trampled for thee them that rebelled against thee, overthrowing (for) thee the Asiatics of the army of Mitanni; I have humbled them - (?) beneath thy feet. I am thy father, the lord of the gods, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, sole leader, whose remnant escapes not, that I may cause thy valor to be (remembered ?) in the future through all eternity."

It will be seen that the content of these inscriptions is so vague and general, and so largely made up of conventional phrases from similar hymns of praise addressed to older kings, that the real character of Sheshonk's war in Palestine could never be determined from it. We may remark here that there is a brief and fragmentary inscription of Sheshonk in another part of the temple which commemorates the offering of the tribute of Palestine and Nubia before Amon, so that his supremacy at least for a time in both countries, as claimed in the texts above translated, is clear. But fortunately the great relief of Sheshonk contains also the long list of 156 names of places captured by him in Palestine. This list is our sole source for determining the

¹ Referring of course to the sword which the god is represented as extending to Sheshonk.

limits of his Asiatic campaign, and we may briefly notice the extent of territory which it involves. It would enable us in the first place to test the statement of Amon in his address on Sheshonk, crediting him with having captured Mitanni, the now well-known Euphrates country, if we did not already know that it had perished long before Sheshonk's time. It is needless to say that no towns so far north can be found in the list, and it is evident that the scribe who edited the inscription simply borrowed Mitanni from some older inscription at Karnak.


Of the ten rows of names comprising the list, the fourth and tenth rows have entirely perished, involving the loss of thirty-one names; while twelve more in different places have also disappeared. Indeed, the list is at the present day rapidly perishing; four names in the seventh row (Nos. 105-108) long ago fell out and were rescued by Lepsius (Berlin 2094). No. 27 (Megiddo) has either fallen out or been removed in recent times by vandals. Many names once legible are no longer so. Yet this priceless record of Palestinian geography from the tenth century B. C., has never been exhaustively copied and published in such a manner as modern palæography demands, or as a classical monument of its character would long ago have been. I was fortunately able to supplement the insufficiency of the publications in many places (but not everywhere), with large scale photographs. Omitting badly mutilated examples which cannot be safely restored; allowing for at least fifteen names which occupy two ovals each, and eliminating the Nine Bows, which have nothing to do with Palestine, we now have on the monument and in the publications of it, some seventy-five names of ancient Palestinian cities, as they were known to the scribes of Sheshonk I. about 925 B. C.


In the study of this list, the customary juggling with Semitic roots taken from a Hebrew dictionary, is a pastime which may be indulged in by anyone with a slight knowledge of hieroglyphics, and be made to fill many pages with the most impressive learning, of no value however for historical, and I might add, for any other purposes. We shall here attempt to note only those names which can be geographically located, or for other reasons are of importance.

The list is introduced as usual by the "Nine Bows," an old and conventional list of peoples ruled by the Pharaoh. The names which follow undoubtedly fall roughly into two main

groups: first, the towns of Israel; and second, those of Judah. The main line of cleavage is probably somewhere between Nos. 50 and 60 or 65; but that this line is exclusive, or that the groups themselves are exclusive, is by no means certain. Roughly stated the list devoted between fifty and sixty names to Israel and about a hundred to Judah. Of the total of seventy-five or so, that are preserved, only seventeen can be located with certainty, and perhaps two more with probability. Of these nineteen, sixteen are found in the Old Testament. Fourteen of them belong to Israel and are mostly important towns; while the remaining five, in Judah, are with one exception obscure villages. This may be an accident of preservation. The southernmost town captured is Arad in southern Judah, and the northernmost is possibly Beth Anoth in northern Galilee, which with Adamah, west of the Sea of Galilee, would stand alone, well north of the group of towns in the Kishon valley, which latter in the writer's opinion are more likely to mark the limit of Sheshonk's northern advance.

Let us now notice the names in the list, which may be identified and located.⁸ After the Nine Bows, the following three names (10-12)⁹ are mutilated and unrecognizable. The list then proceeds with towns of Israel in the Kishon valley and vicinity, as follows:¹⁰

No. 13.  *Rw-b'-ty*, רַבִּית, Rabbith.

No. 14.  *T'-n-k-*, תַּעֲנַךְ, Taanach.

⁸ A number of important names in the list had already been identified by Champollion; many are due to Brugsch (*Geogr. Inscr.*, II, 56-71); a study by Maspero (*AZ.*, 1880, 44 ff.) and again more fully (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 63-122, followed by a discussion by Conder, pp. 123-30); a useful treatment by Müller (*Asien*, 166-72). The numbers I use refer to *LD*, who alone is correct in his numbers. Champollion has inserted a lost oval between 41 and 45, omitted two between 48 and 51, omitted one between 59 and 61, and misplaced 65 behind 68. Only the second and last of these errors were noted by Maspero in collating the original (*Rec.*, VII, 100), but his study (*AZ.*, 1880, 44 ff.) employs the hopelessly confused numbering of Champollion, which makes it difficult to follow.

⁹ The restoration of two of them as Gaza and Megiddo is a guess (Maspero); the occurrence of Megiddo further on (27) shows that we cannot look for it here.

¹⁰ Nos. 13-15 are all in Issachar. No. 16 is in Manasseh; *n-r* = *n* or *l* as commonly. No. 17 is probably not Rehob by the Sea of Galilee; see Müller, *Asien*, 153. No. 18 is in Issachar. No. 19, *'d-rw-m'-m* that is אֲדַרְמִי is perhaps אֲדַרְמִי, Adoraim in Judah. We should then necessarily conclude that the list has mixed the towns of the two kingdoms. No. 20 is lost, and No. 21 (*S'-w'-d*) is unknown. No. 22 is east of Jordan in Gad. No. 23 is in Benjamin. No. 24 is in Ephraim. No. 25, *K'-d-t-m* is unknown. No. 26 is in Dan, but in Israel. No. 27 is in Issachar (though held by Manasseh). No. 28, *'d-rw* = אֲדַר (or אֲדַל), agrees phonetically exactly with אֲדַר in Judah (Josh. 15:3; Num. 34:4), but again we should have a long leap from Israel into Judah; and Addar is well reproduced in No. 100, certainly in Judah.

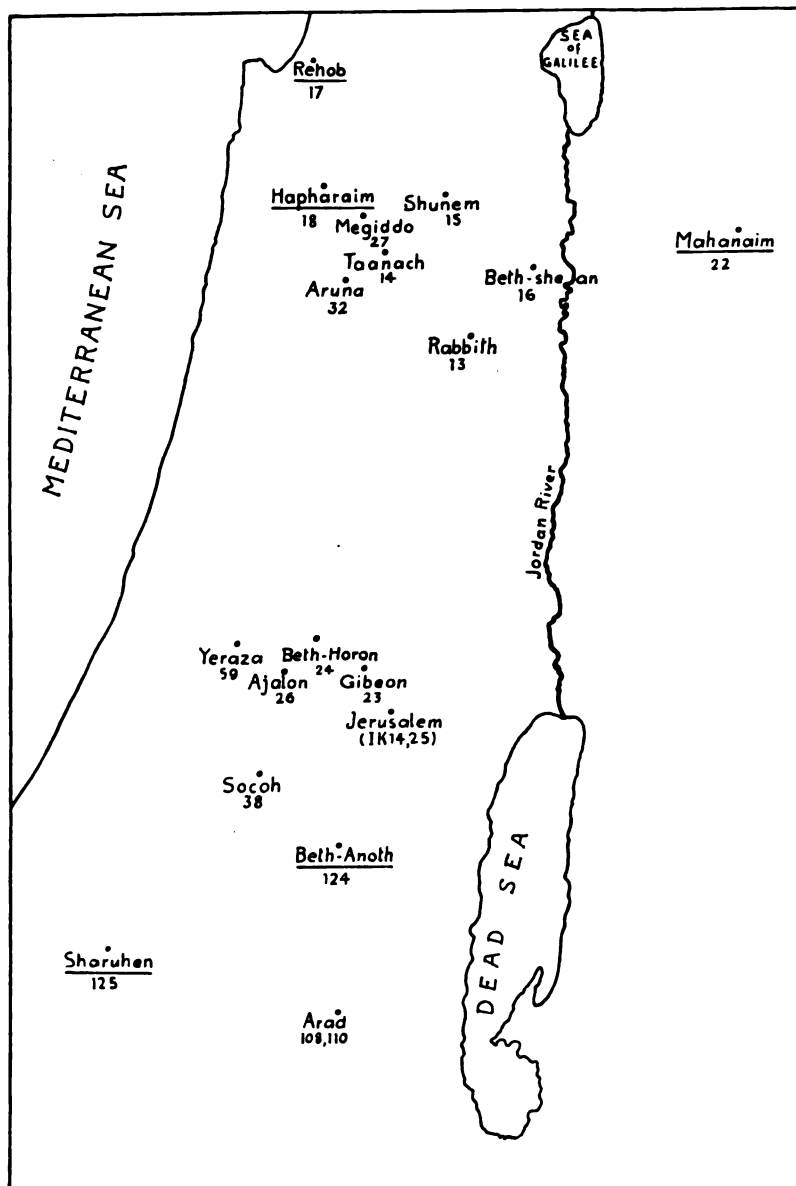
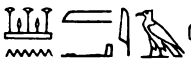





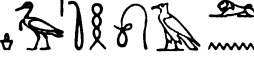


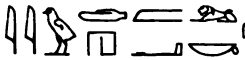


FIG. 2.—Map of Palestine, Showing only Towns Captured by Sheshonk I.

Numbers refer to the list; names underlined are not located with exactness.

- No. 15.  Š'-n-m-', שִׁנֵּם, Shunem.
- No. 16.  B'-ty-š'-nr-', בֵּית שָׁנָן, Beth-shean.
- No. 17.  Rw-h'-b'-', רְחוֹב, Rehob.
- No. 18.  H'-pw-rw-m-', חַפְרַיִם, Hapharaim.
- No. 22.  M-h'-n-m, מַכַּנַּיִם Machanaim.
- No. 23.  K-b'-'-n', גִּבְעֹן, Gibeon.
- No. 24.  B'-ty-h-w'-rw-n, בֵּית הָרוֹן, Beth-horon.
- No. 26.  'yw-rw-n, אַיָּלֹן, Ajalon.
- No. 27.  M-k-d-yw, מֶגִּדּוֹ, Megiddo.

Next follows the much discussed

- No. 29.  Yw-d-h-m-rw-k, יְדֹהֶמֶךְ.

which is of course not to be rendered "the king or kingdom of Judah."¹¹ Its geographical location is unknown.¹² With


- No. 32.  '-rw-n', אֲרֻנָּה, Aruna.

we are again in the vicinity of southern Carmel, for this place is the Aruna, passed by Thutmose III. on his march northward just before he reached Megiddo.¹³


¹¹ The impossibility of this rendering was long ago shown by Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.*, II, 62-3). He also proposed rendering *h* as the article; so also Müller (*Asien*, 167; *PSBA.*, X, 81), who proposed: "Hand of the King." The difficulty is that this involves the *transliteration* of the Semitic article, whereas the article is elsewhere throughout this list *translated* (see Nos. 71, 77, 87, 90, 92, 94, etc.).

¹² No. 30 is lost, and 31 H'-y'-n-m, חַיִּינִים or חַיָּנִים is unknown.

¹³ No. 33, B'-rw-m'-m = בְּלִמִּם is unknown.


No. 34.  *D'-d-p-t-rw*, זדפתאל or צדפתל.


was probably a city¹⁴ of central Palestine, while the next recognizable name,¹⁵

No. 38.  *Š'-yw-k'*, שכיה, Socoh.



is phonetically exactly equivalent to Socoh (שכיה),¹⁶ and it would carry us into Judah. The entire next row (40-52) is lost, except the first name, which began with an "Abel" or "meadow," and the next row (53-65) is in little better condition. It contains three familiar names:

No. 56.  *'-d-m-'*, אדםא.

No. 57.  *D'-rw-m'-m*, צורמים(?) or צוררים?

No. 59.  *Y-rw-ḡ'-'*, ירזא, Yeraza.

Of these, No. 56 reminds us of Edom, but the names of countries do not appear in this list;¹⁷ No. 57 may be צוררים "rocks," so that neither of these two is of any geographical value. The third, No. 59, is the Yeraza¹⁸ of the Annals of Thutmose III., in northwestern Judah.

No. 65.		} <i>P'-'-m-k''-ḡ'-'</i> , • The Valley (עמק) of עירא
No. 66.		
		or עיצא.

¹⁴ It is not known from the Old Testament, but is mentioned in *Pap. Anastasi*, I, 22, 5, where it appears to be between northern Israel and Benjamin.

¹⁵ No. 35 is too broken for use; No. 36, *B'-ty-t'-rw-m'm* (*m'm* may = *m* in this list), or בית-תלם, "House of the Furrow," is unknown. In his collation Maspero (*Rec.*, VII, p. 100, No. 36) has overlooked the *ty* which is perfectly clear on the photograph. Hence his long paragraph on the word falls away (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, Vol. XXVII, 102-3). No. 37, *K'-k'-rw-y*, perhaps a כקר (with *q* in the middle for *כ*) is unknown.

¹⁶ There are two cities of this name in Judah: one in the valley of Elah, toward the Shephelah; and the other in the highlands southwest of Hebron. See the objections of Müller (*Asien*, 161).

¹⁷ There was an אדמיה in Naphtali; Müller proposes "Edumia-Dôme," in eastern Ephraim (*Asien*, 168).

¹⁸ See Müller, *Asien*, 152, n. 1.

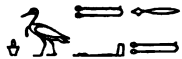
"The"¹⁹ Valley of עֵינָן or עֵנָן,"²⁰ form the first complete example of a long series of compound names each occupying two rings, of which the first member is a well-known Semitic word, like שְׁבֵלָה "stream" (73 and 75), נֶגֶב "south country" (84, 90, 92), and חֶקֶל "field" (68, 71, 77, 87, 94, 96, 101, 107). But unfortunately these names, while sometimes capable of translation, cannot be geographically located. In the remainder of the list very few names of any kind can be placed.

No. 100.  'd-r', אֲדָר, Addar.



is doubtless אֲדָר²¹ in Judah, while of the two Arads

No. 108.  } '-rw-d', עֲרָד, Arad.
 No. 110.  }

one must be עֲרָד in the desert of Judah.

No. 124.  B'-t'-n, בֵּית אֲנוֹת.

is possibly to be emended to Beth Anoth,²² and

No. 125.  (≡ misread from hieratic  n') Š'-r-ḥ'-n', שְׂרָחֵן, Sharuhen.

is evidently Sharuhen of southern Judah.²³ We look in vain for Jerusalem, which according to the Hebrew annals (1 Kings 14:25) was also taken and plundered by Sheshonk. It has doubtless been lost in one of the lacunæ.

¹⁹ P' is the Egyptian article.

²⁰ There is no m at the end, according to Maspero's collation (*Rec.*, VII, 100, No. 63), nor is it on the original, as the photograph proves. Hence there was no basis for the identification with עֵינָן in Judah (Müller, *Asien*, 168). Yet it is still read with m by Maspero himself (*Trans. Vict. Inst.*, 27, 106, 109) in 1892.

²¹ Repeated in No. 117.

²² Beth Anath (Josh. 19:38; Judges 1:33) is in Naphtali; we may equally well read with Müller as above, Beth Anoth which is in Judah (Josh. 15:59; modern Bêt-'Anân?).

²³ No. 118, P'-b'-y' should be compared with the land B', which Schaefer tells me occurs on Seti I.'s stela at Tell-esh-Shehab in the Hauran. From the squeeze he read, "Mut, mistress of B' (nbt B') with b'-bird and hill-country." If Beth Anath of Naphtali really occurs in the second half of the list, a place in the Hauran might also be there.



FIG. 3.—The Name "Field of Abram," from the List of Sheshonk I. on the Wall of the Karnak Temple, latter half of tenth century B. C.

(From a photograph by Borchardt.)

THE STORY OF EUGENIA AND PHILIP.

BY EDGAR J. GOODSPEED,
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The story of Eugenia of Alexandria has long been known in Greek and Latin.¹ The Syriac version of it has been published by P. Bedjan, from British Museum manuscripts, and by Mrs. Lewis, from the Syro-Antiochene palimpsest.² While the Ethiopic form represents an entire rewriting of the legend, it is on the whole in substantial agreement with these more ancient forms. Such material departures from the older narrative as the Ethiopic displays are clearly due to confusion or carelessness on the part of the maker of the Ethiopic, or of its parent (Coptic?), version, rather than to any commingling of legendary material from other sources.

The Ethiopic form of the story of Eugenia and Philip is preserved in three British Museum manuscripts, Oriental 686 (C), 687-8 (B), and 689 (A), which have been already described in these pages.³

As in the publication of the Ethiopic forms of Cyprian and Pelagia in this JOURNAL, the text of the oldest manuscript, A, is printed, all the variants of B and C being collected in the footnotes. Further than the recommendation of a few readings or occasionally, where all the manuscripts are obscure, of an emendation, there has been no effort to construct a text. In the translation, the inconsistencies of the Ethiopic in referring to the disguised Eugenia now as masculine, now as feminine, have been allowed to stand unreconciled.

The writer's thanks are due to the authorities of the British Museum, for permission to publish, and to Dr. Enno Littmann, of Princeton University, who has contributed many helpful suggestions.

¹ Cf. H. Usener, *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia*, p. xviii; Migne, *Patrologia*, Vol. 116, 609 sqq.; Rosweyde, p. 340.

² A. S. Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women* (Studia Sinaitica, IX, X).

³ Vol. XVII, pp. 65, 66; XIX, pp. 67, 68; "The Story of Eugenia and Philip" stands twenty-fifth among the titles of Oriental 686, and twenty-seventh among those of Oriental 687-8 and 689.

በስመ¹፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ²፡ አምላክ፡ ዜናሃ፡ ሰ
ቅድስት³፡ አውጋንደ⁴፡ ወዜና፡ አቡሃ፡ ቅዱስ⁵፡ ሰማዕት፡ ፊልጶስ፡ በትረክ⁶፡ ወ
ከነ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ሳዕለ⁷፡ ሀገረ፡ ሮሜ፡ ከሐዲ⁸፡ ወዓላዊ⁹፡ መምዕላይ¹⁰፡ ዘይብልዎ፡
ዘስመ¹¹፡ መማድስ¹²፡ ዘይሰገድ¹³፡ ሰጣዎት፡ አማልክት¹⁴፡ ውእቱ¹⁵፡ ሂም፡ ላ
ዕለ፡ ሀገረ፡ እስከክንድርድ¹⁶፡ ለብእሲ፡ አረማዊ¹⁷፡ ዘስመ¹⁸፡ ይብልዎ፡ ፊልጶስ፡
ወከነት፡ ሱቱ፡ ብእሲት፡ መሃይምንት፡ በኅቡእ፡ እምፍርህተ¹⁹፡ ብእሲሃ፡ ወወ
ሰደት፡ ሱቱ፡ ወሰተ፡ ገርምተ፡ ወላሕይተ²⁰፡ ወስማ፡ አውጋንደ፡ ወሰበ፡ በጽ
ሐ²¹፡ ወሶአ፡ ዝኩ²²፡ ዕልው፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገረ፡ እስከክንድርድ²³፡ አዘዘ፡ ይዕፀዉ፡
አብደተ፡ ክርስቲያናት²⁴፡ ወሰደደ²⁵፡ ክርስቲያነ፡ ወከነት፡ ይእቲ፡ ወሰቱ²⁶፡ ድ
ንግል²⁷፡ ወተምህረት²⁸፡ ድሱ፡ ጥበበ፡ ሮሜ፡ ወትርጓሚ፡ መጻሕፍት²⁹፡ ድሱ³⁰፡
ወሰበ፡ ከነ³¹፡ ወበጽሐ፡ መዋዕሊሃ፡ ፤ ወጃዓመተ³²፡ ንሠሥዋ³³፡ ብዙኃን፡ መኳ
ንንት፡ እምነሰ³⁴፡ አቡሃ፡ ከመ፡ ያውስብዋ፡ ወይቤላ፡ ውእቱ፡ መኩንን³⁵፡ ዕል
ው፡ አቡሃ፡ ወይቤላ³⁶፡ አወሰት፡ አእምሪ፡ ከመ፡ ብዙኃን³⁷፡ መኳንንት፡ ወመ
ላእክት³⁸፡ የንሥሁኪ³⁹፡ እምነ⁴⁰፡ ንግር፤ ዘትፈቅደ፡ ምንት⁴¹፡ ብኪ⁴²፡ ዘትብ
ሊ፡ ወአውሥአት⁴³፡ ወትቤሱ፡ ለአቡሃ⁴⁴፡ አኮ⁴⁵፡ ይደልወክ፡ ስኡባ፡ አፍቅሮ፡
ብዕል፡ ወንዋዩ⁴⁶፡ አላ፡ ባሕቱ፡ ይደልወክ፡ አፍቅሮ፡ ምሕረት፡ ወአፍቅሮ⁴⁷፡ ኂ
ሩት፡ ወአሠንዮ፡ ምግባር፡ ወአሐተ፡ ዕለተ፡ እምድኅረዝ⁴⁸፡ እንዘ፡ ታኅብብ፡ ቡ
ርክት፡ መልእክት፡ ጳውሎስ፡ ወትተረጉም፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ ኅሩዩ⁴⁹፡ ወትትኤምር⁵⁰፡

^a *man. prim.*; *corr.* ክርስቲያናት፡ ^b MS. ተምህረት፡

¹ በስመ፡ አምላክ፡ *om.* C. ² ጁ B. ³ ውሱርክት፡ *add.* C. ⁴ ቡር
ክት፡ *add.* B. ⁵ *tr.* ሰማዕት፡ ቅዱስ፡ BC. ⁶ በትረ፡ ያርክ፡ B, q, l.; በት
ርክ፡ C; በረክተመ፡ የሃሱ፡ ምስለ፡ ገብሮመ፡ ወልድ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ *add.* B; በ
ረክተመ፡ የሃሱ፡ ምስለ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ፍቅሮው፡ ንጉሥነ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወወልዱ፡ ንጉሥነ፡
ኢያሱስ፡ ወምስለ፡ እምው፡ ንግሥትነ፡ ወሰተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ (ወምስለ፡ ነፍሱ፡ አ
መቱ፡ አሌነ፡ *add. corr.*) ሰዓሰመ፡ ዓሰም፡ አሚን፡ *add.* C. ⁷ *tr.* ከሀዲ፡ ወዓ
ላዊ፡ ሳዕለ፡ ሀገረ፡ ሮሜ፡ C. ⁸ ከሀዲ፡ B; l. ከሓዲ፡ ⁹ l. ዐላዊ፡ ¹⁰ *om.* C.
¹¹ ስመ፡ B; *om.* C, *recte.* ¹² መማዲዮስ፡ B; ሚማዲዮስ፡ C. ¹³ ዘይቡ
ልዎ፡ B; ዘይሰገድ፡ ? C. ¹⁴ ወሰ *prae*f. B; *om.* C. ¹⁵ ውልቱስ፡ C.
¹⁶ እስከክንድርድ፡ BC. ¹⁷ ዘይሰገድ፡ ሰጣዎት፡ *add.* BC. ¹⁸ ስመ፡ *om.* C.
¹⁹ እምፍርህተ፡ BC. ²⁰ በላህይ፡ B, በላሕይ፡ C. ²¹ *tr.* ሶአ፡ ወበጽሐ፡ B;
በጽሐ፡ ወ *om.* C. ²² ዝንቱ፡ C; *tr.* ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ ዝንቱ፡ ዕልው፡ B. ²³ እለ
እስከክንድርድ፡ B, እስከክንድርድ፡ C. ²⁴ ወይስድዱ፡ C. ²⁵ ወሰት፡ B. ²⁶ ድ
ንግል፡ B. ²⁷ መጻሕፍት፡ B. ²⁸ ድሱን፡ C. ²⁹ ከነ፡ ወ *om.* C. ³⁰ ፤ ወ
om. B; ወእመ፡ C. ³¹ ኃሠሥዋ፡ B, ተኃሠሥዋ፡ C. ³² እምነሰ፡ ወ
om. C. ³³ *tr.* ዕልው፡ መኩንን፡ C. ³⁴ *om.* BC. ³⁵ ብዙኃን፡ C. ³⁶ ወመላህቃ
ት፡ B, ወመላህቃት፡ C. ³⁷ የኃሠሥኪ፡ BC. ³⁸ *tr.* ንግር፤ አማነ፡ C. ³⁹ ወ
*prae*f. BC. ⁴⁰ ብኪ፡ H *om.* BC. ⁴¹ ወአውሥአት፡ BC; *add.* ወሰቱ፡ ለአቡ
ሃ፡ C. ⁴² *om.* C. ⁴³ *tr.* ስኡባ፡ አኮ፡ ዘይደልወኒ፡ C. ⁴⁴ ወንዋዩ፡ BC, q, l.
⁴⁵ አፍቅሮ፡ *om.* B. ⁴⁶ *om.* C. ⁴⁷ ኅሩዩ፡ B, ኅሩደተ፡ C. ⁴⁸ ወትትኤመር፡
B, ወተሐትት፡ C.

ገይማናት¹፡ ቃላቲሁ፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ወቦላ፡ ውስተ፡ ልባ፡ ጥዕና፡ ንሥሐ²፡ ወልብ
 ሰ፡ ምንድንስና³፡ ወአሐተ፡ ፅላተ፡ ሰአለተ⁴፡ ለአቡግ፡ ከመ፡ የአዝዝ⁵፡ ላቲ፡ ከ
 መ፡ ተሳለ፡ ገዳም⁶፡ ዘሀገረ⁷፡ እለስክንድርያ⁸፡ ከመ፡ ትትናዝዝ፡ ወትፍታሕ፡
 እዕይንቲ፡ ወሶባ፡ ሰምዐ⁹፡ አቡግ፡ ዘንተ¹⁰፡ ተፈሥሐ፡ ዐቢየ¹¹፡ ወሰአክ፡ ምስ
 ሌ፡ ጸጋፍጥ¹²፡ ሠናደ፡ ወንጹሳ¹³፡ ከመ፡ ይፀቀብዋ፡ እስከ፡ ትገብእ፡ ወእን
 ዘ፡ ይእቲ፡ ታንሶሱ፡ ወትትናዝዝ፡ በጽሐት¹⁴፡ ንባ፡ ምኒተ¹⁵፡ መክላት፡ ወሰም
 ፀተሙ¹⁶፡ እንዘ፡ ያብቡ፡ ዘንተ፡ መዝሙር፡ ዘይብል፡ እማልክቲሆሙ፡ ለአሕ
 ዛብ፡ አጋንንተ¹⁷፡ ወእገዚአብሔርሰ፡ ሰማያተ፡ ገብረ፡ ወሶባ፡ ሰምዐት¹⁸፡ ዘን
 ተ¹⁹፡ ተርጉመት፡ ወነገረተሙ፡ ለጋፍጥ²⁰፡ ዘንተ²¹፡ ትርጓሜ፡ መዝሙር፡ ወ
 ትፊ፡ የጽሑ፡ ከመ፡ አቡየ፡ ወዘሱሙ፡ እለ፡ ምስሌሁ²²፡ ያመልኩ፡ አጋንንተ²³፡
 ሰደጥነ²⁴፡ ወይደልወ፡ ለ፡ ከመ፡ ንጎሥሥ፡ ትርጓሜ²⁵፡ መጽሐፍተ²⁶፡ ወስብ
 ሐት፡ መንፈሳዊ፡ ወጎሩየ²⁷፡ ለነፍሳቲ፡ ሕይወተ፡ ዘሰገላም፡ ወተመጠውዋ²⁸፡
 ጋፍጥነ²⁹፡ ዘትፊ³⁰፡ ወአውሥእየ፡ ወይደልየ፡ እር፡ ይደልወ፡ እእገዝእት፡ ለ
 መድኀተ³¹፡ ነፍሱ³²፡ ወአውሥእተሙ፡ ወትፊሱሙ፡ ይደሉ፡ ከመ፡ ትላፀዩ³³፡
 ሥፀርተ፡ ርእሰየ፡ ወእምዝ፡ እለብስ፡ ልብስ፡ ተባፀተ³⁴፡ ወንሖር³⁵፡ ሠሰስቲ፡
 ንባ፡ እዲስ፡ ቀጸስ፡ ዘዘንቱ፡ መካን፡ ቡሩክ፡ እስመ፡ ሰማዕኩ፡ በእንቲላሁ፡ ከ
 መ፡ ይገብር፡ ተአመረ³⁶፡ ዐቢይተ³⁷፡ ወብዙጎ³⁸፡ ወኢይሬኢ፡ ገጸ፡ እንስተ³⁹፡
 ወገብሩ፡ ጋፍጥነ⁴⁰፡ በከመ፡ አዘዘተሙ፡ ወተንሥኡ⁴¹፡ ወሖሩ፡ እስከ፡ በጽሑ፡
 ንባ፡ እንቀጸ፡ ምኒተ፡ ወጉድጉዳ፡ ወአርገውዎሙ⁴²፡ እንቀጸ፡ ምኒተ⁴³፡ ወበጽ
 ሐ፡ ንባ፡ ፊተ⁴⁴፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወጸለየ፡ ወፈጸሞሙ፡ ሖሩ፡ ንባ፡ እዲስ፡ ቀጸ
 ስ፡ ዘውእቱ፡ መካን⁴⁵፡ ቡሩክ፡ ዘስሙ⁴⁶፡ ቴዎድርስ፡ መንፈሳዊ⁴⁷፡ ወብዙጎ⁴⁸፡

¹corr.; *prim. man.* እለስክርያ፡

¹tr. ቃላት፡ ገይማናት፡ C. ²ንስሐ፡ BC; L. ንስሐ፡ ሆ፡ *aff.* B. ሰ
 እሐ፡ B. ሰአዝዝ፡ B; የአዝዝ፡ ላቲ፡ ከመ፡ *om.* C. ሰገመ፡ B; ገዳም፡
 C, q. l. ሰ *om.* BC, *recte.* ሰእለስክንድርያ፡ B, እስክንድርያ፡ C. ሰ
 ምዓ፡ BC. ሰ *om.* C. ሰቢየ፡ BC; ፍሥሐ፡ *add.* C. ሰሕፀዋ፡ BC;
 L. ሰጽዋ፡ ሰንፀሳ፡ C. ሰ *om.* C. ሰመክ፡ B. ሰወሰምዓተሙ፡ BC.
 ሰአጋንንተ፡ BC, q. l. ሰሰምዓት፡ BC. ሰ *om.* C. ሰሐፀዋ፡ BC; L. ሰ
 ጎጽዋ፡ ሰ *om.* BC. ሰእሊሁ፡ C, *om.* እለ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ ሰአጋንንተ፡
 BC, q. l. ሰሰዋ፡ B; ሰይጣናተ፡ C, q. l. ሰእም፡ *add.* BC. ሰ
 ጸሐፍተ፡ BC, q. l. ሰንጎረይ፡ C. ሰወተሠጥውዋ፡ BC. ሰሐፀዋ፡ BC;
 L. ሰጽዋ፡ ሰከመ፡ ትፊ፡ B, በከመ፡ ትፊሱሙ፡ C. ሰመድኃኒተ፡ BC;
 L. ሰመድኃኒተ፡ ሰነፍሳቲ፡ C. ሰትላጽዋ፡ BC, q. l. ሰተባፀተ፡ BC, q. l.
 ሰወንሖር፡ BC. ሰተአምረ፡ B, q. l.; ተአምረተ፡ C. ሰባቢይተ፡ BC; L.
 ፀባይተ፡ ሰወብዙጎ፡ BC. ሰወበእንተዝ፡ እብሰክሙ፡ ሳጽዋ፡ ሥፀርተ፡ C
 እስየ፡ ወእልብሱ፡ አልባስ፡ ተባፀተ፡ *add.* BC, q. l. ሰሐፀዋ፡ BC; L. ሰ
 ጽዋ፡ ሰ *om.* B. ሰወአርገውዎሙ፡ BC. ሰ *om.* BC; L. ሰምኒተ፡ ሰ
 ኒተ፡ C. ሰፊተ፡ *add.* C *corr.* ሰመክ፡ B. ሰ *om.* B. ሰ *praef.* C.
 ሰወብዙጎ፡ BC.

ይዘንጢ : በእነተ : ጌሩቱ : ለዝንቱ : ሌዲስ : ቅዱስ :: ከመ : ይደውርአ¹ : እሳት² :
በልብሱ : ወኢያውዲ³ : ወይወስድ : ንባ : ዘፈቀደ :: ወሶባ : የጸርፆ : ሰውእቱ :
ዳዳስ : ቅዱስ⁴ : ወርእዮ⁵ : ሥነ⁶ : ምግባሩ : ወበገዱ⁷ : ሱቱ⁸ : ወባረክ : ሳባሆ
መ : ወይቤሱመ : እምአይቲ : አንትመ : አፍቆራንዮ : ወመኑ : አስማጥከመ :
እምኒከመ⁹ :: ወአውሥአት¹⁰ : ድንገል : ወትቤሱ : እቅዱስ¹¹ : ለእግዚአብሔር¹² :
አንሰ : ስምየ : ኣጋንዮስ¹³ : ወአቡየ : ያመልክ : ጣዖት¹⁴ : ወሰእሱ¹⁵ : ወራዙት :
አጋውየ : እሱ¹⁶ :: ወይቤሱመ : ዳዳስ : ንባሩ : አደቂቅየ¹⁷ : ወይከውን : ፈቃዶ¹⁸ :
ሰኢየሱስ¹⁹ : ክርስትስ²⁰ :: ወእንዘ : ይትናገርመ²¹ : ወይሚህርመ²² :: ወእምዝ²³ :
ቦአ : ውስት²⁴ : ምኒት²⁵ : ብእሲ : መሠርይ²⁶ : ምስለ : ብዙን²⁷ : ጉባኤ : ሕዝብ :
ከመ : ይትጋደል : ምስለ : ዳዳስ : በእነተ : የገረ²⁸ : ክርስትስ²⁹ : እግዚእነ :: ወው
እቱለ : ሌዲስ : ቅዱስ : ምሁረ³⁰ : የገረ³¹ : ዙሉ : መዳሕኖት : መንፈሳዊ³² : ወተና
ገር : ዳዳስ : ሰውእቱ³³ : መሠርይ³⁴ : ወሥእነ³⁵ : መይጦት :: ወይቤሱ³⁶ : ዳዳስ :
ለመሠርይ : ያደድዱ : እሳት³⁷ : ቦሲይ³⁸ : ማእከለ : ዝንቱ : መካን : ወእበውእ³⁹ :
ውስት⁴⁰ : ውእቱ⁴¹ : እሳት : እነ⁴² :: ወአንተሂ : ባእ : እምድጎሪየ : ወዘወፅእ : እ
ምኒ : ሕያው : ወኢውፀየ : ናእምር⁴³ : ከመ : አምሳኩ : አምሳክ : ዘበአማን ::
ወሠምረ : መሠርይ : በዝ⁴⁴ : ቅጽር⁴⁵ :: ወሶባ : የደ : እሳት : ተንሥአ : ውእቱ⁴⁶ :
ዳዳስ : ወዙሉ : ጉባኤ : ምስሌሁ : ወሖሩ⁴⁷ : ምስሌሁ⁴⁸ : ህየ : ወይእቲ : ድንገ
ል : ምስለ⁴⁹ : ሕፀዋይ⁵⁰ : ወበጽሑ⁵¹ : ንባ⁵² : ውእቱ⁵³ : መካን⁵⁴ : ወቀርብ⁵⁵ : ዳ
ዳስ : ንባ : ውእቱ : እሳት : ወዐተበ⁵⁶ : ገጽ⁵⁷ : በትእምርተ : መስቀል : ወቦአ : ማ
እከለ : እሳት : ምስለ : አልባሲሁ⁵⁸ : ወምስለ⁵⁹ : አማእሊሁ⁶⁰ : ወቀርብ⁶¹ : ወቆመ :

¹ ይፀውር : BC ; አ : add. B. ² እሳት : BC, q. l. ³ ወኢያውዲ : BC.
⁴ om. C. ⁵ om. B. ⁶ ሥነ : BC. ⁷ ወ om. C. ⁸ ቅዱስ : BC. ⁹ ወ
ለጅ praeef. B, ለለጅ praeef. C, q. l. ¹⁰ ወ om. B. ¹¹ እቅዱስ : C. ¹² ለ om.
C ; አስመ : add. B. ¹³ አውጋንዮስ : BC. ¹⁴ ጣዖት : BC, q. l. ¹⁵ ለ om.
BC. ¹⁶ om. BC. ¹⁷ አ om. BC. ¹⁸ ፈቃዱ : B, ፈቃድ : C. ¹⁹ እግዚአብ
ሔር : C. ²⁰ om. C. ²¹ tr. ይሚህርመ : ወይትናገርመ : C. ²² om. C.
²³ አበ : C. ²⁴ ምኒት : BC, q. l. ²⁵ መሠንይ : C. ²⁶ ብዙን : BC, q. l.
²⁷ የገረተ : BC. ²⁸ tr. እግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስትስ : C. ²⁹ ምሁር : BC ;
ውእቱ : add. C. ³⁰ የገረተ : B ; tr. ዙሉ : የገረ : መዳሕኖት : C. ³¹ መን
ፈሳውያን : B, መንፈሳውያት : C. ³² ለዘውእቱ : C. ³³ ብዙን : የገረ :
add. BC. ³⁴ ወስእነ : BC. ³⁵ ወእምዝ : ይቤሱመ : C. ³⁶ እሳት : BC,
q. l. ³⁷ ንባየ : BC ; l. ቦሲየ : ³⁸ እነ : add. B ; ወእነ : እበውእ : C. ³⁹ ማ
እከለ : C. ⁴⁰ ውሥር : C. ⁴¹ ምኒት : B ; ዝንቱ : C. ⁴² om. BC. ⁴³ ናእም
ር : B, የእምር : C. ⁴⁴ በዝንቱ : BC. ⁴⁵ የገር : C. ⁴⁶ om. BC. ⁴⁷ ወ
ሐሩ : B, ወሖረ : C. ⁴⁸ om. BC. ⁴⁹ ምስሌሁ : C. ⁵⁰ ወ praeef. C ; l. ጎ
ጽዋይ : ⁵¹ ወ om. B. ⁵² ማእከለ : B, ውስት : C. ⁵³ ውእቱ : add. C
⁵⁴ ምኒት : BC. ⁵⁵ ውእቱ : add. B. ⁵⁶ ወግተበ : B. ወተግተበ : C. ⁵⁷ ሳባ
ሰ : ሥጋሁ : BC. ⁵⁸ አልባሲሁ : B. ⁵⁹ ወ B, om. ምስለ : ⁶⁰ አሳባሲሁ : B,
አማእሊሁ : C. ⁶¹ om. BC.

ገብ' : እሳት : መንፈቀ : ሰጥት : ዘመዐልት' : ወቂረት' : እሳት' : ወወፅዕ : እማ
 እክሳ' : ወኢውዕየ' : ፩እምሥዕርት' : ርእሱ' : ወ፩እምፀጉረ' : አልባሲሁ' : ወ
 አንከርም" : ሕዝብ" : እምዝንቱ : ተጻምር" : ወሰብሕም : ሰእገዚአብሔር :: ወእ
 ምዝ : ተመየጡ" : ገብ : መሠርዶ" : ወይቤልም : ተንሥእ : ወባእ : ማእከለ : እ
 ሳት : በከመ" : ቦእ" : ጳጳስ : ከመ : ናእምር : ገይሰ" : አምላክክ : በዝንቱ : እ
 ሳት :: ወአቅረብም : ሰመሠርዶ" : ገብ : ውእቱ : እሳት : እንዘ : ይፀርድ" : ወሶብ :
 ቀርብ :: ገብ : ውእቱ" : እሳት : አንበላበት" : ወአውዕየት" : ወአንዝት" : ርእሱ :
 ወፀሕጥ" :: ወእምዝ : ጸርገ" : ወአውየው" : ወአስተበቀው" : ገብ : ጳጳስ : እን
 ዘ : ይብል : አድጎዚ : እገዚእ : እምጥዕየ : እሳት : እስመ" : አመንኩ : በአምላ
 ክክ : ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ" : ናዝሬዊ :: ወሶብ : ሰምዐ" : ጳጳስ : ዘንተ : ነገረ : እም
 ኔሁ : አንዝ" : በእደዊሁ" : ወአውፀዕ : እምእሳት :: ወሶብ : ርእሱ : ሕዝብ : ዘን
 ተ" : አንከርም" : ወሰብሕም : ሰእገዚአብሔር : ወይቤሉ : በአማን : እገዚእነ" :
 ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ : አምላክክ : እኩሉ : አምላክ" : ዘበአማን : ወአስተበቀው" :
 መሠርዶ" : ሰጳጳስ : ከመ : ያጥምቅ : በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ" : ወ
 አጥመቅ : ሱቱ : ወሰዙሱም : ሕዝብ" : እሰ : መጽሐ : ምስሌሁ" : ወመሀርመ :
 ነገረ : ሕይወት : ወባረከመ : ሳባሌሁ" : ወጸለየ : ወይቤ" : ሳባሌሁም : ወወፀ
 ሕ" : እንዘ : ይትፈሥሐ" : ወይቤብሕም" : ወሰገዱ" : ወይሰገዱ : በአምላክነ :
 ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ ፥ ወአውጋንደስ" : ወ፩ሕፀጥ፤፯" : በአልም : በጳጳስ : ከመ : ያ
 ጥምቅመ : ወያልብሰመ : ልብስ : ምንድስና : ወገብረ : ቅዱስ : ከማሁ ፥ ወእ
 ውጋንደስ" : ወ፩ሕፀጥን" : ነባሩ : ያመተ" : እንዘ : ይተልፈ" : ጸሎታተ : ወ
 አንብቦ : መዝሙራት : ወብዙጎ" : ትጋህ" : እስከ : ተመይጦ : እርእያሆው : ወተ

'ማእከለ : BC. 'ዘመዓልት : BC. 'ወቂረት : B, ወቂረ : C. 'om.
 B; ሳባሌሁ : add. C. 'እማእከሉ : C. 'ወኢውዕየት : C. 'om. B; እ
 ሐኂ : pro ፩ : C. 'om. B. 'ወ om. B; ወኢእምፀጉረ : C, q. l. '፩
 ብሱ : B. 'ወአንከሩ : BC. 'om. B. 'ተጻምር : BC; l. ተእምርት :
 "ተመይጡ : BC, q. l. 'መሠርዶ : BC, q. l. 'በ om. C. 'om. C.
 "ጋይሰ : BC. 'በውእቱ : መሠርዶ : B. 'ይርፀድ : BC, q. l. 'om.
 B. 'አንበላበት : BC, q. l. 'ወአውዕየት : BC; add. አልባሲሁ : "ወ
 አንዝት : C, add. ትብላሳ : "ወጽሕጥ : BC, q. l. 'ጸርሐ : BC. 'ወዓ
 ውየው : B; l. ወወየው : "ወአስተበቀው : BC. 'ናሁ : add. C. 'om. C.
 "ሰምዓ : BC. "ወአንዝ : C. "በእደሁ : BC. 'om. BC. "አንከሩ :
 ፈድፋደ : BC. 'om. BC. 'tr. ዘበአማን : አምላክ : B. "ወአስተበቀ
 ም : BC. 'om. B, man. prim.; suppl. corr. "ቅዱስ : add. BC. "አሕ
 ዘብ : BC. "ገሌሁ : C. 'om. BC, recte. "እመካን : add. B. 'om.
 BC. "ወ om. B; ይቤብሔ : C. 'om. BC, recte. "ወአውጋንደስ :
 BC. "ወ፩ሕፀጥን : BC; l. ወ፩ጎጽ፤፯ : "tr. ወነበረት : አውጋንደስ :
 ወ፩ሕፀጥን : BC; add. ገብ : ውእቱ : መካን : C. 'l. ወ፩ጎጽ፤፯ : "ያ
 ገመተ : BC. "ያተልፈ : C. "ወብዙጋ : B. "ትጋህ : B, q. l.; ት
 ጋህመ : C.

መስወ¹ : ሥጋሆሙ² : ፈድፈድ³ : እምብዝሐ⁴ : ጸማ⁵ : ወኢታሰትት⁶ : አንብቦ⁷ : መዳሕፍት : መንፈሳዊ⁸ ::

ወእምዝ : ፈነወ : አቡሃ : ይጎሥሥዋ : ወለአክ : አፍራስ⁹ : በዙጎ¹⁰ : ወዘይዪ ዓም¹¹ : ከመ : ይጎሥሥዋ : ውስት¹² : ክሉ¹³ : ብሔር : ወአድየሚገ¹⁴ : ለእስ ክንድር¹⁵ : ወኃሥሥዋ¹⁶ : ወኢረከቡ¹⁷ : ላቲ : አሰረ¹⁸ : ወሐዘ¹⁹ : አቡሃ²⁰ : ወ እማ²¹ : ዐቢይ²² : ሐዘ²³ : ፈድፈድ²⁴ : በእንቲአሃ²⁵ : ወአገዙ²⁶ : ይላሕዉ²⁷ : ወ ይብኪዩ²⁸ : ብዙጎ²⁹ :: ወአዘዘ : አቡሃ : እምብዝሐ³⁰ : ሐዘ³¹ : በእንቲአሃ³² : ከመ : ይገባሩ : ሉቱ : ጣዖት³³ : በአርአያ³⁴ : ወበአምሳሊገ : ወገብሩ³⁵ : ወተከሉ³⁶ : ውስት : ሴቱ :: ወእንዘ³⁷ : ይበውእ : ወይወፀእ : ይኔደር³⁸ : ገሌሃ : ወይሰገድ : ላቲ : ከመ : ይትናዘዝ³⁹ : በእንት : ወለቱ ::

ወነበረ : አበ : ምኒት : ቅዱስ : ወቡሩክ : ገበ : ውእቱ : መካን : ደዓመተ⁴⁰ ፥ ወእምድጎሬሁ : እገዚእ⁴¹ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቲስ : ተመጠወ : ነፍሱ⁴² : ጎፊት⁴³ : ጎ ሴሁ⁴⁴ :: ወሐዘ⁴⁵ : መነኮሳት⁴⁶ : መካን : ፈድፋድ⁴⁷ : በእንቲአሁ :: ወሶበ : ርእዩ : መነኮሳት⁴⁸ : ሠናየ : ፍፍቱ⁴⁹ : ለአውጋንደ⁵⁰ : ወጥበበ : አንብቦቱ : ውስት : መዳሕፍት⁵¹ : ዘመለኮት⁵² : መንፈሳዊ⁵³ : ወጎብረ⁵⁴ : ምክርሙ : ከመ : ይሂምዎ : አበ : ምኒት : ሳዕሌሆሙ⁵⁵ : ወተባህሉ⁵⁶ : በበይናቲሆው : ወይወሉ : አልቦ⁵⁷ : ዘይ ነብር⁵⁸ : ደባ : መነበረ : አበ : ምኒት : ዘእንበለ : ዝነቱ : ወሬዛ :: ወይእከይ : ገፁ : ገስአሉ : ለዝነቱ⁵⁹ : ወሬዛ⁶⁰ : ቅዱስ⁶¹ : አውጋንዮስ : ወአስተብቀዎ⁶² : በእንትዝ : ወአቀምዎ⁶³ : ወረሰይዎ : አበ : ምኒት : ሳዕሌሆሙ : ወእመንቱስ : ኢደእመሩ :

* *man. prim.* እምብዝ : ሐ : * *man. prim.* ወአድም (*vel* ሚ ?) ገ : * *man. prim.* ወሬዛ : ዱስ : ?

¹ ወመጽሐው : C. ² ሥጋገ : B. ³ ፈድፈድ : BC, q. l. ⁴ እምብዝ : BC. ⁵ ጸማ : BC; l. ጸማ : ⁶ ወኢታሰትት : ዘልፈ : C. ⁷ አንብብ : B. ⁸ መንፈሳዊ : B, መንፈሳዊ : C. ⁹ አፍራስ : BC, q. l. ¹⁰ ብዙጎ : BC. ¹¹ እንዘ : ይዪዪ : B; ወዘይዪዪ : C. ¹² ውስት : ወኃሥሥዋ : om. C. ¹³ ክሉ : B, q. l. ¹⁴ ወአድየሚገ : B, q. l. ¹⁵ ለእስክንድር : B. ¹⁶ ወሠሥዋ : B. ¹⁷ ወኢረከቡ : C, om. ላቲ : ¹⁸ ሠረ : B, om. C; l. አሠረ : ¹⁹ ወገዝ : B, ወአጋዘ : ይገዝ : C. ²⁰ ሲ om. BC. ²¹ ዓቢይ : B, tr. ኃዘ : ዓቢይ : C; l. ዐቢይ : ²² ኃዘ : B. ²³ ፈድፈድ : B, q. l.; om. C. ²⁴ om. C. ²⁵ ወይላሕዉ : C. ²⁶ ወይበክዩ : B; ወይብክዩ : C, q. l. ²⁷ ብዙጎ : BC. ²⁸ እምብዝ : BC. ²⁹ ገዝ : B, ኃዘ : C. ³⁰ om. C. ³¹ ጣዖት : BC, q. l. ³² ግ om. B; tr. በአምሳሊገ : ወበአርአያ : C. ³³ om. BC. ³⁴ ተከላ : B, ወተከሉ : C. ³⁵ om. B. ³⁶ ይኔደር : B, q. l. ³⁷ ትናዘዝ : C. ³⁸ ደዓመተ : C. ³⁹ tr. ተመጠወ : ነፍሱ : እገዚእ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቲስ : C. ⁴⁰ ነፍሱ : B. ⁴¹ om. C. ⁴² ወገዝ : B, ወኃዘ : C. ⁴³ መነኮሳት : C, om. መካን : ⁴⁴ tr. በእንቲአሁ : ፈድፋድ : C. ⁴⁵ om. C. ⁴⁶ ፍፍቱ : BC. ⁴⁷ ለአውጋንዮስ : BC. ⁴⁸ መዳሕፍት : BC. ⁴⁹ H om. BC. ⁵⁰ መንፈሳዊ : B. ⁵¹ om. B; ኃብረ : C. ⁵² ሳዕሌሆሙ : ምኒት : om. C. ⁵³ ወተባህሉ : B. ⁵⁴ አልብ : B. ⁵⁵ ዘይነብር : B. ⁵⁶ ዝነቱ : om. C. ⁵⁷ om. BC. ⁵⁸ አስተብቀዎ : B, አስተብቀዎ : C; l. ወአስተብቀዎ : ⁵⁹ tr. ወረሰይዎ : ወአቀምዋ : C.

ከመ፡ አንስተደዊት፡ ይለቲ፡ ወዘቲ፡ ቅድስት፡ ተፀምዶት፡ ለመልእክተ፡ ም
 ኔት፡ ወዘሱ፡ ዘይትገብር፡ ለመልእክተ፡ መፍቅድ፡ መካን፡ አምጽአ፡ ማ
 ደ፡ ወሰበረ፡ ፀፀው፡ ወአስተናጽሐ፡ ወኩስተር፡ መካን፡ ወታበስል፡ ሱ
 ሙ፡ ወትበውለ፡ ውስተ፡ ሀገር፡ ወትማያጥ፡ መፍቅድ፡ መነኩሳት፡ ወሰሊግ፡
 ትቀውም፡ በጊዜ፡ ሰፃታት፡ በበጊዜሁ፡ ወኢያለመሩ፡ መነኩሳት፡ እምል
 በ፡ ምኔት፡ ቀዳማዊ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ አርአያ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወዝንቱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ናሁ፡
 በቀቃሙ፡ ከመ፡ ንያል፡ ብእሲ፡ ፈረሳዊ፡ ዘድልው፡ ለተቀትሱ፡ ፀር፡ ወ
 ጸገጥ፡ እገዚእነ፡ እየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ሀብተ፡ ሠናየ፡ ታወፀእ፡ አጋንነተ፡ ወታ
 ሐዩ፡ ሕሙማን፡ ወትክሥት፡ አዕይነት፡ ፀጪራን፡ ወሰምዐት፡ ብእሲ
 ተ፡ ክብርት፡ እምዐባይተ፡ እለስከኔድርያ፡ በተለምረ፡ አውጋንያ፡ ር
 እስ፡ ምኔት፡ ወከነ፡ ሳቲ፡ ብእሲት፡ ለዕሌግ፡ መንፈስ፡ ርኩስ፡ ዘይታን
 ን፡ ብዙግ፡ ወትፀሎሙ፡ ለእግብርቲግ፡ ውስዲ፡ ንበ፡ አበ፡ ምኔት፡
 ከመ፡ ያሕይወ፡ ወገብሩ፡ ከማሁ፡ ወመጽአት፡ ንበ፡ አበ፡ ምኔት፡ ወወድቀ
 ት፡ ታሕተ፡ እገፈሁ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ እገዚአብሔር፡ ወትፀ፡ መሐረ፡ ለቅዱስ፡ ለእ
 ገዚአብሔር፡ ወእሕይወ፡ እምዝንቱ፡ ሕማም፡ ወጸለየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሳዕሌግ፡ ወ
 ወፀእ፡ በይጠን፡ እምሳዕሌግ፡ ለብእሲት፡ ወሐይወት፡ ሳዕሌግ፡ ወሶረት፡
 ወሶረ፡ በጽሐት፡ ውስተ፡ አብያቲግ፡ ለእኩት፡ ንበ፡ አበ፡ ምኔት፡ ብዙግ፡ እ
 ምጋ፡ ወሶረ፡ ርእየ፡ ቅዱስ፡ እገዚአብሔር፡ ዘንተ፡ እምግ፡ ይፀ፡ አገብሎ፡
 ንበ፡ እገዝእትከሙ፡ ወይለየ፡ ከመ፡ ትከፍልከሙ፡ ወሰነዳያን፡ ወእምድ

^acorr.; man. prim. መፍቅድ፡ ^bcorr.; man. prim. ወገብ፡

¹አንስተደዊት፡ B, አንስት፡ C. ²ለ aff. B; om. C. ³om. C. ⁴ወተጸ
 ምድት፡ C. ⁵ምኔት፡ . . . ለመልእክተ፡ om. B; ውለቱ፡ መካን፡ C. ⁶ወ
 ለዘሱ፡ C. ⁷ዘይትገብር፡ C. ⁸መነኩሳት፡ add. B. ⁹በከመ፡ add. BC.
¹⁰ቀዳሐ፡ C. ¹¹ማየ፡ B. ¹²ወሰበረ፡ B. ¹³ፀፀው፡ B. ¹⁴ወአስተናጽሐ፡ B.
¹⁵ኩስተር፡ BC. ¹⁶ወትማየት፡ B, ወትሠይጥ፡ C. ¹⁷ወሰሊግ፡ . . . መነኩ
 ሳት፡ om. C. ¹⁸በ om. B. ¹⁹ጸሎታት፡ B; ለ ሰፃታት፡ ወእየአምሩ፡ B.
²⁰እምጋበ፡ አበ፡ BC. ²¹ሁ aff. B; አርዳኢሁ፡ C. ²²ሠናይ፡ B, q. l. ²³ጋ
 ያል፡ BC. ²⁴ዘድው፡ B. ²⁵ለተቀትሱ፡ B, ለተቃትሱ፡ C, q. l. ²⁶ንቢየ፡
 BC. ²⁷ወትፈውስ፡ C. ²⁸ሙታነ፡ B, ሕሙማን፡ C. ²⁹አዕይነት፡ B, om. C.
³⁰ፀጪራን፡ C. ³¹ወሰምጋት፡ B. ³²ብእሳት፡ B, om. C; ለ ብእሲት፡ ቅድ
 ስት፡ C. ³³እምጋባይታት፡ B, እምጋባይት፡ C. ³⁴እለስከኔድርያ፡ B, እስ
 ከንድርያ፡ C. ³⁵በ om. B; ከመ፡ ተለምረ፡ C; ለ በተለምረ፡ አውጋን
 ዮስ፡ BC. ³⁶ወከነ፡ BC; ሳዕሌግ፡ add. C. ³⁷ለዘቲ፡ BC. ³⁸ሳዕሌግ፡
 B, q. l.; om. C. ³⁹ዘይታን፡ C. ⁴⁰ብዙግ፡ B; ወብዙግ፡ C, add. ጊዜ፡
⁴¹om. C. ⁴²ለእግብርቲግ፡ C, q. l. ⁴³ሰዲ፡ B. ⁴⁴ምኔት፡ BC, q. l.
⁴⁵ሰይጣን፡ BC, q. l.; add. እምነግ፡ እምሳዕለ፡ ይለቲ፡ B. ⁴⁶ለ om.
 B; ሰይለቲ፡ ብእት፡ (pro ብእሲት፡) C. ⁴⁷እምደግ፡ BC. ⁴⁸ንበ፡ C.
⁴⁹ወፈነወት፡ ሱቱ፡ add. C. ⁵⁰ብዙግ፡ BC. ⁵¹እምጋ፡ BC, q. l. ⁵²ወ
 prae. B. ⁵³እገብእም፡ BC. ⁵⁴ወበልዎ፡ BC. ⁵⁵ከሙ om. BC. ⁵⁶ሳዕ
 ለ፡ ያዳያን፡ BC.

ገረ : ብዙገ¹ : መዋዕል : መጽሐፍ : ይእቲ² : ብእሲት : እንተ : ሐይወት : እምደ
 ዌፖ³ : ገበ : አበ : ምኒት : ወጸለየት : በህየ : ወጸረት : ሳሕየ⁴ : አውጋንዮስ⁵ : ሠ
 ናየ : ወንሰየት⁶ : ከመ : ብእሲ⁷ : ወሬዛ : ወሆኑ⁸ : ሰይጣን : ልባ⁹ : ወአፍቀረት :
 በእኩይ :: ወሶበ : ሶረት : ገበ : ማጋደራ¹⁰ : ነሥአት : ብዙገ¹¹ : ንዋየ : ወዕንቁ :
 ባሕርየ¹² : ወኔልባስ : ቀጠንት¹³ : ወጸረት¹⁴ : ዘንተ : ዙሉ¹⁵ : እስከ : አብጽሐት :
 ገበ : አንቀጽ¹⁶ : ምኒት : ወጸውዐት¹⁷ : አሐዱ¹⁸ : እመነኩሳት : ወትፊሉ : አፈቅር :
 ከመ : ትጽውዖ : ንቤየ : ሰአበ : ምኒት : ዝየ : እስከ : እትናገር :: ወሶረ : ውእቱ :
 መነኩስ : ወነገር¹⁹ : ሰቅዱስ : ወይፊሉ : አሐቡ : ቅዱስ²⁰ : ነጽር²¹ : ዘይትናገር
 ከ : ሳባ : አንቀጽ : ምኒት : ሀሉ :: ወወፅአ : ቅዱስ²² : እግዚአብሔር : ወሶበ : ር
 እየት :: ይእቲ : ብእሲት : ነደ : ልባ²³ : እምጽንዐ²⁴ : ፍቅረ²⁵ : እኩይ²⁶ : ወተስለለ
 ተ²⁷ : ወትፊሉ : እመፈቀድክ²⁸ : እግዚእየ : ትንግእ²⁹ : ዘንተ : ንዋየ : ወዕንቁ³⁰ : ባ
 ሕርየ³¹ : ወአልባስ³² : ጋድግ³³ : ዘንተ : መካነ : ወኢጋዳሙ³⁴ : ነፍስከ³⁵ : ወነፃ :
 ምስሌየ : ከመ : ታውስበደ : እስመ : ምትየ : ሞተ :: ወሶበ : ሰምዐ³⁶ : አውጋንዮ
 ስ : ዘንተ : ነገር³⁷ : እምነ : ብእሲት : አእመረ : ከመ³⁸ : እምኒጣነ³⁹ : ሰይጣን⁴⁰ :
 ውእቱ : ዝነገር : እኩይ : ገባራ⁴¹ : እኪት⁴² :: ወአውሥላ⁴³ : ወይፊላ : ሶፊ⁴⁴ : እ
 ምነየ⁴⁵ : አብእሲት⁴⁶ : ወጸፊ⁴⁷ : አልባስኪ : ወንዋየኪ : እስመ : ሰይጣን : ሶክኪ⁴⁸ :
 ወሶረት : እስከክንድርስ⁴⁹ : በዐቢይ⁵⁰ : ንፍረት⁵¹ : ወሐዘን⁵² : ወጸራ⁵³ : ሰይጣን :
 ወወሰዳ : ገበ : መኩንን : እለስክንድርያ⁵⁴ : ወትፊሉ : ስምዐ⁵⁵ : እንገርክ : እ
 ስመ : ሀሉ : ውስተ : መካን⁵⁶ : መነኩስ⁵⁷ : ወሬዛ : ዘሠናይ⁵⁸ : ሰሕይ⁵⁹ : ዘኢያስተ

^a corr.; man. prim. መካን : ^b corr.; man. prim. አውሥላ : ^c corr.
 መኩንን : ^d corr.; man. prim. om. ድ

¹ ብዙገ : BC. ² om. C. ³ እምደፖ : B. ⁴ ሳህየ : B. ⁵ አውጋንዮስ : B.
⁶ ወሐለየት : BC. ⁷ tr. ወሬዛ : ውእቱ : ይእቲ : ብእሲት : C, pro ብእሲ : ወሬ
 ዛ : ⁸ ወሶከ : B, ወሆኑ : C. ⁹ om. C. ¹⁰ ማጋደርየ : B. ¹¹ ብዙገ : BC. ¹² ባሕ
 ርይ : B; L. ባሕርያት : ¹³ ቀጠንት : B. ¹⁴ ወጸረት : BC. ¹⁵ om. C man. prim.,
 suppl. corr. ¹⁶ አበ : add. B. ¹⁷ ወጸውዐት : B, ወይፊላ : ፃዕቤ : አንቀጽ : ን
 በተ : C, pro ወጸውዐት : . . . ምኒት : ¹⁸ አድ : B. ¹⁹ ወዘነዎ : BC. ²⁰ om.
 B, ከቡር : C. ²¹ ሀሉ : ውስተ : አንቀጽ : ዘይፈቅድ : ይትናገርክ : C, pro ነጽር :
 . . . ሀሉ : ²² ቅዱስ : BC, q. l. ²³ tr. ፍቅረ : ልባ : እምጽንዐ : እኩይ : C.
²⁴ እምጽንዐ : B. ²⁵ ርቅርቅ : ²⁶ እኩይ : B. ²⁷ ወተስለለተ : BC. ²⁸ እመ : ፈ
 ቅድክ : B, tr. እግዚእየ : እመ : ፈቅድክ : C. ²⁹ ንግእ : BC. ³⁰ om. B. ³¹ ባሕ
 ርይ : BC. ³² ወአልባስ : BC, q. l.; ወርቅ : add. C. ³³ ወ praef. B. ³⁴ ወኢጋ
 ዳሙ : B, ወኢትዳሙ : C. ³⁵ ነፍስከ : BC, q. l. ³⁶ ሰምዐ : BC. ³⁷ ነገር : BC,
 q. l.; እኩየ : add. C. ³⁸ om. B. ³⁹ እምኒጣነ : B, ነገር : ኒጣነ : C. ⁴⁰ ሰይጣ
 ን : B, q. l.; om. C. ⁴¹ om. C. ⁴² ወአውሥላ : B. ⁴³ ሶፊ : BC. ⁴⁴ አእምየ : C.
⁴⁵ አብእሲት : B, ሐ om. C. ⁴⁶ ወፀፊ : BC. ⁴⁷ ሞክኪ : B, ሞክኪ : C. ⁴⁸ እለስክ
 ንድርያ : B, q. l.; አለ : እስክንድርያ : C. ⁴⁹ በዓቢይ : BC. ⁵⁰ ንፍረት : B, tr.
 ንዘን : ወብካይ : ወንፍረት : C. ⁵¹ ወንዘን : B. ⁵² ወጸራ : BC. ⁵³ እለ : እስክን
 ድርያ : BC. ⁵⁴ tr. እነገርክ : ስምዐ : BC. ⁵⁵ መካነ : BC, q. l. ⁵⁶ መነኩስ : BC,
 q. l. ⁵⁷ ሠናየ : B, tr. ሠናይ : ወሬዛ : C. ⁵⁸ ሳህይ : B, ወሳሕየ : ሠናይ : C.

ርእ¹፡ ለሰብላ፡ ከመ፡ ሠናየ፡ ወመስተዐገሥ፡ ወኒር²፡ ። እስመ፡ ሖርኩ፡ ነባ፡
 ወእቱ፡ መካነ፡ በእነተ፡ መፍቅድየ፡ ምስለ፡ እግብርትየ፡ ወእለማትየ፡ ወፊት
 ኩ፡ ህየ፡ ። ወሶባ፡ ከ፡ ሌሊተ፡ መጽእ፡ ነባየ፡ ወእቱ፡ መነኩስ፡ ወሬዛ፡ ባሕ
 ደ፡ እነዘ፡ እነውም፡ እነ፡ ቅመ፡ ፡ ሳባሌየ፡ ወፈቀደ፡ ከመ፡ ያኅሥረ፤፡ ወሶ
 በ³፡ ሊጸራኅኩ፡ ወእጸዋዕኩ⁴፡ ፤ እምእለማትየ⁵፡ እምእርኩስ፤፡ ወእምረሰየ፤፡
 ነፍረት⁶፡ ። ወሶባ፡ ሰምዐ⁷፡ መኩንን⁸፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ለእክ፡ በጊዜ፡ ነባ፡ ወ
 እቱ፡ ምኒት፡ ብዙኃነ⁹፡ ሐራ፡ ወሰብላ፡ እፍራስ፡ ወዐገቱ¹⁰፡ ወእቱ፡ ምኒት¹¹፡
 ወእነዝያ¹²፡ ለእውጋንዮስ፡ ወለዙሉመ፡ መነኩሳት፡ ወወሰድምመ፡ ነባ፡ መኩ
 ንን፡ ወሶባ፡ ርእየመ¹³፡ መኩንን¹⁴፡ ለእውጋንዮስ¹⁵፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወለመነኩሳቱ¹⁶፡ ሊ
 ተናገሮመ¹⁷፡ ወእምነተ፤፡ ወእቱ¹⁸፡ ጊዜ፡ እሳ፡ ባሕቱ፡ ተመደጠ፡ ነባ፡ ሊቀ፡
 መሳፍንትሁ¹⁹፡ ወደፊሉ፡ ንግእ²⁰፡ ዘንተ²¹፡ ወሬዛ፡ ወመነኩሳት²²፡ ወደየመ²³፡
 ውስተ²⁴፡ ጥቅሕ፡ ወኩነፍመ²⁵፡ በዘዘዘእሁ፡ ኩነ²⁶፡ ። ወኩ፡ ዐቢይ²⁷፡ ሐዘን²⁸፡
 ውስተ²⁹፡ ሀገር³⁰፡ እለስክንድርያ³¹፡ በእነተ፡ እሱ፡ ቅዱሳን³²፡ መነኩሳት፡ በእነ
 ተ³³፡ ዘይትኃነ³⁴፡ ። ወበግልስተ³⁵፡ ዕለት፡ እዘዘ፡ መኩንን፡ ያምጽእያ፡ ለእባ፡
 ምኒት፡ ነባሁ፡ ። ወእውፀእያ³⁶፡ ለቅዱስ፡ እነዘ³⁷፡ እሱር³⁸፡ በሰናስል፡ ወእቀም
 ያ፡ ቅድመ፡ መኩንን፡ ወደፊሉ፡ ቅዱስ³⁹፡ ነፃ፡ ነባየ፡ እውሬዛ⁴⁰፡ ባሕየ⁴¹፡ ። ወ
 ሶባ፡ ቀርቦ⁴²፡ ነባሁ፡ ወደፊሉ⁴³፡ እሌለክ⁴⁴፡ ከመዝኑ፡ ጽሑፍ፡ ውስተ⁴⁵፡ ወንጌ
 ልክመ፡ ወከመዝኑ⁴⁶፡ እዘዘክመ፡ ክርስቲስክመ⁴⁷፡ ከመ፡ ትግባሩ፡ ግብረ⁴⁸፡ ዘ
 መተ⁴⁹፡ ዘፈቀድክ፡ ከመ⁵⁰፡ ታኅሥራ፡ በዛቲ፡ ብእሲተ⁵¹፡ ክብርት፡ ። ወሶባ፡ ሰ
 ምዐ⁵²፡ ቅዱስ⁵³፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ነገር⁵⁴፡ ለመኩንን⁵⁵፡ እትሐተ፡ ርእሶ፡ እሐተ⁵⁶፡

¹corr.; man. prim. ሐርኩ፡

²suppl. corr.

³። om. BC, recte; ⁴ወ pro H C. ⁵om. BC, recte. ⁶መስተዐገሥ; BC.
⁷ወኒር; BC. ⁸ወሶባ; C. ⁹ወሶባ; BC. ¹⁰ወቀመ; BC.
¹¹ወቀመ; BC. ¹²ወቀመ; BC. ¹³ወቀመ; BC. ¹⁴ወቀመ; BC. ¹⁵ወቀመ; BC.
¹⁶ወቀመ; BC. ¹⁷ወቀመ; BC. ¹⁸ወቀመ; BC. ¹⁹ወቀመ; BC. ²⁰ወቀመ; BC.
²¹ወቀመ; BC. ²²ወቀመ; BC. ²³ወቀመ; BC. ²⁴ወቀመ; BC. ²⁵ወቀመ; BC.
²⁶ወቀመ; BC. ²⁷ወቀመ; BC. ²⁸ወቀመ; BC. ²⁹ወቀመ; BC. ³⁰ወቀመ; BC.
³¹ወቀመ; BC. ³²ወቀመ; BC. ³³ወቀመ; BC. ³⁴ወቀመ; BC. ³⁵ወቀመ; BC.
³⁶ወቀመ; BC. ³⁷ወቀመ; BC. ³⁸ወቀመ; BC. ³⁹ወቀመ; BC. ⁴⁰ወቀመ; BC.
⁴¹ወቀመ; BC. ⁴²ወቀመ; BC. ⁴³ወቀመ; BC. ⁴⁴ወቀመ; BC. ⁴⁵ወቀመ; BC.
⁴⁶ወቀመ; BC. ⁴⁷ወቀመ; BC. ⁴⁸ወቀመ; BC. ⁴⁹ወቀመ; BC. ⁵⁰ወቀመ; BC.
⁵¹ወቀመ; BC. ⁵²ወቀመ; BC. ⁵³ወቀመ; BC. ⁵⁴ወቀመ; BC. ⁵⁵ወቀመ; BC.
⁵⁶ወቀመ; BC. ⁵⁷ወቀመ; BC. ⁵⁸ወቀመ; BC. ⁵⁹ወቀመ; BC. ⁶⁰ወቀመ; BC.
⁶¹ወቀመ; BC. ⁶²ወቀመ; BC. ⁶³ወቀመ; BC. ⁶⁴ወቀመ; BC. ⁶⁵ወቀመ; BC.
⁶⁶ወቀመ; BC. ⁶⁷ወቀመ; BC. ⁶⁸ወቀመ; BC. ⁶⁹ወቀመ; BC. ⁷⁰ወቀመ; BC.
⁷¹ወቀመ; BC. ⁷²ወቀመ; BC. ⁷³ወቀመ; BC. ⁷⁴ወቀመ; BC. ⁷⁵ወቀመ; BC.
⁷⁶ወቀመ; BC. ⁷⁷ወቀመ; BC. ⁷⁸ወቀመ; BC. ⁷⁹ወቀመ; BC. ⁸⁰ወቀመ; BC.
⁸¹ወቀመ; BC. ⁸²ወቀመ; BC. ⁸³ወቀመ; BC. ⁸⁴ወቀመ; BC. ⁸⁵ወቀመ; BC.
⁸⁶ወቀመ; BC. ⁸⁷ወቀመ; BC. ⁸⁸ወቀመ; BC. ⁸⁹ወቀመ; BC. ⁹⁰ወቀመ; BC.
⁹¹ወቀመ; BC. ⁹²ወቀመ; BC. ⁹³ወቀመ; BC. ⁹⁴ወቀመ; BC. ⁹⁵ወቀመ; BC.
⁹⁶ወቀመ; BC. ⁹⁷ወቀመ; BC. ⁹⁸ወቀመ; BC. ⁹⁹ወቀመ; BC. ¹⁰⁰ወቀመ; BC.

ጊዜ፡ ወአእመረት፡ ከመ፡ እግዚእ፡ ሊየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ አፍቀረ¹፡ ወፈቀደ²፡ ይ
 ካሥት፡ ሕቡአቲ፡ ወደርኢ³፡ ወትቤ፡ በማእከላ፡ ገቡአን⁴፡ ይእቲ፡ ብእሲት፡
 አንተ⁵፡ ትቤ፡ አነ⁶፡ አበስኩ፡ ሳባሌ፡ ከመ⁷፡ ትፈልዩ⁸፡ ወአምጽእዋ⁹፡ ትቆ
 ም¹¹፡ ቅድሚያ¹²፡ ዝየ¹³፡ ወአዘዘ፡ መኩንን፡ ደምጽእዋ፡ በይእቲ¹⁴፡ ብእሲት¹⁵፡
 ወሶበ፡ በጽሐት፡ ቅድሚያሙ፡ ጸርጎት¹⁶፡ ቅድስት፡ በቅድሚያሙ¹⁷፡ ወበቅድ
 ሚያ¹⁸፡ ወትቤ፡ አኩ፡ በእንቲአኪ¹⁹፡ አርዙስት²⁰፡ ዘእካሥት፡ ዘንተ፡ ምሥጢር፡
 ኖም፡ አላ፡ ከመ፡ ይሴባሕ²¹፡ ስመ፡ እግዚእ²²፡ ወአምላኪ²³፡ ሊየሱስ፡ ክር
 ስቲስ፡ ወከመ፡ ይድጎኑ²⁴፡ እሱ፡ አጋው²⁵፡ እምዘንቱ፡ ዙኔ፡ ወእምዘ፡ ተ
 መይጠት፡ ንበ፡ አቡ፡ መኩንን፡ ወትቤሱ፡ በእመ፡ ነገርከከ²⁶፡ አነ፡ ጽድቅ፡ ት
 ኃንንኑ²⁷፡ ዛቲ²⁸፡ ብእሲት፡ ሐሳዊት²⁹፡ ወይቤ፡ መኩንን፡ በል³⁰፡ አወሬዛ³¹፡ ዘ
 ሀሱ³²፡ ንቤከ፡ ወትብሱ³³፡ አቅርቦረ፡ ንቤከ፡ ወይሖር³⁴፡ ሰብእ፡ እምዘየ፡ ከመ፡
 እትናገር³⁵፡ ምስሌየክ³⁶፡ አሐት፡ ጊዜ፡ ወአዘዘ፡ መኩንን፡ ከመ፡ ይስድድ³⁷፡ ሰ
 ብእ³⁸፡ አቅረበት³⁹፡ ወቅርቦት⁴⁰፡ ንቤሁ፡ ወሠጠጠት፡ አንቀጸ፡ ልብሳ⁴¹፡ እንግድ
 ግ፡ ወትቤሱ፡ ነጽር፡ ንቤየ፡ ወርኢ፡ ሳባሌ፡ ፍጥረት⁴²፡ አመኩንን፡ አነ፡ ይ
 እቲ⁴³፡ ወሰትከ፡ አውጋንዮስ⁴⁴፡ ወገበርኩ⁴⁵፡ ዘንተ፡ ዙሱ⁴⁶፡ በእንተ⁴⁷፡ ፍቅረ፡
 እግዚእ⁴⁸፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ወሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ መኩንን፡ ዘንተ፡ መንክረ፡ ዐቢየ⁴⁹፡ ሰረረ፡
 ንበ፡ ወሰቱ፡ አውጋንዮ⁵⁰፡ ወሐቀ፡ ወበከየ⁵¹፡ ወይቤ፡ በአማን፡ ወሰት⁵²፡ አ
 ንቲ፡ ወዕቀረት⁵³፡ ዐይንየ፡ ወውሰድየ፡ ወበአማን⁵⁴፡ እብሳኪ፡ ናሁ⁵⁵፡ አነ⁵⁶፡ አ
 ማንኩ⁵⁷፡ በእምላክኪ፡ እግዚእ⁵⁸፡ ሊየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ አማላክ⁵⁹፡ ዘበአማን፡
 ወአዘዘ፡ በጊዜ፡ ከመ፡ ደውፅእዎሙ፡ ለቅዱሳን⁶⁰፡ መነኮሳት፡ እምቤተ፡ ሞቅ

¹ አፍቅረ፡ C. ² ከመ፡ BC. ³ ሳባሌት፡ BC, l. ሳባሌት፡ ⁴ om. B
 man. prim., suppl. corr. ⁵ ገቡአን፡ B, q. l., ገቡአን፡ C. ⁶ እንተ፡ B, q. l.;
 አማን፡ በከመ፡ ትብል፡ አንተ፡ C, pro አንተ፡ ትቤ፡ ⁷ om. B. ⁸ በከመ፡ B,
 om. C. ⁹ ትፈልዩ፡ B, ባሕቱ፡ አዘዘ፡ C. ¹⁰ ወ om. B, recte፡ ደምጽእዋ፡ C.
¹¹ ወ praef. B. ¹² om. BC. ¹³ ወትናገር፡ ዘንተ፡ add. C. ¹⁴ ይእቲ፡ om.
 BC. ¹⁵ om. C. ¹⁶ ጸርጎት፡ B, ጸርሐት፡ C. ¹⁷ om. B, ቅድመ፡ መኩንን፡ C.
¹⁸ ወ om. B, በ om. C. ¹⁹ om. C. ²⁰ አ om. C. ²¹ ይሴባሕ፡ C, q. l. ²² እግ
 ዚአብሔር፡ B. ²³ ወአምላክ፡ B. ²⁴ ይድጎኑ፡ BC. ²⁵ አጋው፡ B, l. አግ
 ውየ፡ ²⁶ ነገርከከ፡ BC, q. l. ²⁷ ትኃንናኑ፡ B, ትትኃንናኑ፡ C. ²⁸ ለ praef. B.
²⁹ ሐሳዊት፡ BC. ³⁰ tr. ዘሀሱ፡ ንቤከ፡ አወሬዛ፡ በል፡ B. ³¹ ወ om. C. ³² ዘሀ
 ለወከ፡ ዙሱ፡ C, pro ዘሀሱ፡ ንቤከ፡ ³³ ወትቤሱ፡ C, q. l. ³⁴ ወይሖሩ፡ BC,
 q. l. ³⁵ ትናገር፡ B, ትናገር፡ C. ³⁶ om. BC; l. ምስሌከ፡ ³⁷ ይስድድ፡
 C; l. ይሰድድ፡ ³⁸ ሰብእ፡ BC. ³⁹ እሰ፡ B, om. C. ⁴⁰ ቅርቡ፡ B. ⁴¹ ልብ
 ሰ፡ B, ልብስ፡ C. ⁴² H praef. C; l. እንግድግ፡ ⁴³ ርእየ፡ C. ⁴⁴ ውእቱ፡ C.
⁴⁵ አውጋንዮ፡ B, q. l. ⁴⁶ ወ om. B, tr. ዘንተ፡ ዙሱ፡ ገበርኩ፡ C. ⁴⁷ om. B.
⁴⁸ እግዚእ፡ ሊየሱስ፡ C. ⁴⁹ ግቢየ፡ BC. ⁵⁰ አውጋንዮስ፡ C. ⁵¹ om. B. ⁵² tr. አ
 ንቲ፡ ወሰትየ፡ BC. ⁵³ tr. ወውሰድየ፡ ወቅረት፡ ግይንየ፡ BC, በአንብዕ፡
 add. C. ⁵⁴ ወናሁ፡ C. ⁵⁵ om. C. ⁵⁶ om. BC. ⁵⁷ አመንኩ፡ BC. ⁵⁸ እግ
 ዚእ፡ BC. ⁵⁹ om. C. ⁶⁰ tr. እምቤተ፡ ሞቅሕ፡ ለመነኮሳት፡ BC, ቅዱሳን፡
 om. BC.

ሕ : ወያዎጽእዎሙ : ንፊሁ :: ወሰባ : በጽሐ : ንፊሁ : ናዘዘሙ : ወእዘዘ¹ : ወ
 እሙየ : ሳባሌሆሙ² : ወወሀሪሙ : ብዙኃ³ : ንዋየ : ወፈገዎሙ : ውስተ : መኳኖ
 ሙ :: ወእዘዘ : ለዘጥቱ⁴ : እመነኮሳት⁵ : በኃብ⁶ : ምዙናን : ከመ : ይገንዘዎሙ :
 ወይቅብርዎሙ :: ወእምዘ : ሰሥአ : ወእንዛ⁷ : በእደሁ⁸ : ለውእቱ⁹ : ቅድስት¹⁰ : እ
 ውጋንደ¹¹ : ወሰአ : ምስሌግ¹² : ውስተ : ማኅደሩ : በፍሥላ¹³ : ወበኃሣት¹⁴ :: ወሰ
 በ : ርእየታ : እማ¹⁵ : ወድቃት¹⁶ : ሳባሌ¹⁷ : እንገድግግ¹⁸ : ሳባሌ¹⁹ : ወሰታ²⁰ : ወእን
 ዘት²¹ : ተአምታ²² : ወትብኪ²³ : ወትፊ²⁴ : እወሰትየ²⁵ : እኮኑ²⁶ : ድልወ²⁷ : ትምሕ
 ፊ²⁸ : እመኪ : ሕዝንት²⁹ : ወጽምእት³⁰ : ወጽምውተ³¹ : ወንብዕተ³² : ወቂስለ³³ :
 ልብየ : በኑን³⁴ : ዝንቱ³⁵ : ዙሉ³⁶ : ገሰም³⁷ : ወግመታት³⁸ : በእንቲአኪ³⁹ :: ወነሥ
 አ : እቡግ : መክርየ : ወጉድባ : ወሰአ⁴⁰ : ፊተ : ጣቦታቱ⁴¹ : ወሰበረ⁴² : ዙሉ : እማ
 ልከቲሁ : ዘነበረ : እንዘ : ያመልኮሙ :: ወእምዘ : ወፅአ : ወነበረ : ዳባ : መንበ
 ረ⁴³ : ምዙናኑ :: ወእዘዘ : እጥዳ⁴⁴ : ከመ : ያርሕ።⁴⁵ : እብደተ : ክርስቲናት⁴⁶ : ወ
 ይገብሔ : ክርስቲያን⁴⁷ : ውስተ⁴⁸ : ሃይማኖተሙ :: ወይትመሀሩ⁴⁹ : ሕገሙ : ዘከ
 መ : ያለምዱ : ወያማስኑ : እብደተ : ጣቦታት⁵⁰ :: ወተፈሥሐት : ሀገረ : እለስክን
 ድርያ⁵¹ : ወዙሉ : እይያሚግ : ለገብጽ : በይእቲ⁵² : ፅሰት :: ወተንሥአ⁵³ : ወሶረ :
 ዘእንበለ⁵⁴ : እማእን⁵⁵ : እስክ : በጽሐ : ኃባ : ኤጲስ : ቅጽስ : ዘሀገረ : እለስክንድ
 ርያ⁵⁶ :: ወተጠምቀ : ውእቱ : ወዙሉ : ሰብአ : ፊቱ : በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወ
 መንፈስ : ቅዱስ :: ወሰባ : በጽሐ : ዜናሁ⁵⁷ : ኃባ⁵⁸ : ንጉሠ : ሮሜ : ዘውእቱ⁵⁹ :
 ሢጥ : ሳባሌ : ሀገረ : እለስክንድርያ⁶⁰ :: ወሰባ : እእመረ : ንጉሥ⁶¹ : ከመ⁶² : ተጠ
 ምቀ : ወእምነ : በእግዚእነ : ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ :: ወሰአክ⁶³ : ንፊሁ⁶⁴ : መጽሐፈ :

^{*}corr.; *man. prim.* ወሳባሌሆሙ : ?

¹om. BC, *recte.* ²ብዙኃ : BC. ³ለእለ : ጥቱ : B. ⁴መነኮሳት : B, መ
 ነኮሳት : *add.* ምጽእዎሙ : C. ⁵በ om. C. ⁶tr. ለወሰቱ : ቅድስት : እውጋንደ
 ስ : ወእንዛ : C. ⁷እደግ : B, በእደግ : C. ⁸ለወሰቱ : B, q. l.; om. C. ⁹om. C.
¹⁰በፍሐ : B. ¹¹ወበሐሣት : B. ¹²ለወሰታ : *add.* B. ¹³ወድቀት : BC, q. l.
¹⁴ዳባ : B, በ C. ¹⁵l. እንገድግግ : ¹⁶om. B, ለወሰታ : C. ¹⁷ወእንዘታ : C.
¹⁸ተአምታ : B, om. C. ¹⁹ወትብኪ : B, ወበክየተ : C. ²⁰ወትፊላ : B. ²¹አሌ :
 ሊተ : B. ²²om. C. ²³ድልወ : B, ድልወት : C. ²⁴ትምሕፊ : C. ²⁵ኅዝ
 ንተ : BC. ²⁶om. B, ወምውተ : C. ²⁷om. C. ²⁸ወቂሰት : C. ²⁹ብዙኃ :
 B, በብዙኃ : C. ³⁰ዘንተ : B. ³¹ዙሉ : B. ³²om. BC. ³³ግመታት : B, ወ
 om. C. ³⁴በእንቲአኪ : B. ³⁵ኃባ : *add.* BC. ³⁶ጣቦታት : B. ³⁷ወሰበረ : B.
³⁸om. BC. ³⁹ግጥዳ : C; l. ፀጥዳ : ⁴⁰ያርሕ። : BC. ⁴¹ክርስቲያን : B, ክር
 ስቲያናት : C, q. l. ⁴²om. B. ⁴³ኃባ : *pro* ውስተ : B. ⁴⁴ወይሚሀሩ : B, ወ
 ይምሀሩ : C. ⁴⁵ጣቦት : B. ⁴⁶እለእስክንድርያ : B, እስክንድርያ : C. ⁴⁷በው
 እቱ : B, በይእቲ : C. ⁴⁸om. B. ⁴⁹om. B, *man. prim.*; *suppl. corr.*
⁵⁰om. B, *man. prim.*; *suppl. corr.*; እማፀን : C. ⁵¹እለእስክንድርያ : B, እስ
 ክንድርያ : C. ⁵²om. C. ⁵³ዝውእቱ : C. ⁵⁴እለእስክንድርያ : B, እስክንድ
 ርያ : C. ⁵⁵om. BC. ⁵⁶ውእቱ : *add.* B. ⁵⁷om. B. ⁵⁸tr. መጽሐፈ : መ
 ልእከት : ንፊሁ : C.

መልእክት፡ ዘይብል¹፡ እርአ፡ ጸርከ²፡ ወአብጽሕከ³፡ ለግሊወ⁴፡ ትእዛዝየ፡ ወሕ
 ገየ፡ ወሰበርከ⁵፡ አማልክትየ፡ ወአስተጋቀርከ⁶፡ መንገደሥተ⁷፡ ወተሰውከ፡ ክርስ
 ተስ⁸፡ ዘአይሁድ፡ ሰቀልዎ፡ ወአእምር⁹፡ ይእዘይ¹⁰፡ አንተ፡ እመኢገባእከ¹¹፡ እ
 ም፡ ዝንቱ፡ ምክር¹²፡ ከመ¹³፡ እኳንን፡ ሥጋከ፡ ዘዘ¹⁴፡ ዚአሁ፡ ዘኑ¹⁵፡ ወሶበ፡ አ
 ንበበ¹⁶፡ ፊልጶስ፡ መኩንን፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ዕልው፡ ተፍአ¹⁷፡ ሳባ፡ መጽ
 ሐፋ፡ ወሠጠጠ፡ ወኢያግብአ፡ ሱቱ¹⁸፡ ቃለ፡ ወኢፈነወ፡ ንቤቱ፡ ሳእካ፡ ወሶበ፡
 ርእዩ፡ ሰብአ፡ እለስክንድርያ¹⁹፡ ሠናየ፡ ግብር፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ብእሲ፡ ቡፋክ²⁰፡ ወጽ
 ንዐ²¹፡ ሃይማኖቱ²²፡ ወአስተጋብሎ²³፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶሳት²⁴፡ ዘዘሉ፡ አድያሚግ²⁵፡
 ለግብጽ²⁶፡ ዘእምዙሉ፡ መንበር፡ ወሢምዎ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ሳባ፡ እለስክንድ
 ርያ²⁷፡ ወነበረ፡ ግመተ²⁸፡ ወወርግ²⁹፡ ሊቀ³⁰፡ ጳጳሳት³¹፡ ወመጽአ³²፡ እምድጎረ
 ዝ³³፡ እለስክንድርያ³⁴፡ ካልአ³⁵፡ መኩንን፡ ወፈቀደ፡ ከመ³⁶፡ ይቅትሉ፡ ለፊልጶ
 ስ³⁷፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ ወኢተክህሉ³⁸፡ በግህድስ³⁹፡ ወባሕቱ፡ በጎሉእ⁴⁰፡ ፈነወ፡ ሱ
 ቱ⁴¹፡ ውእቱ⁴²፡ መኩንን፡ ዕልው፡ ሰብአ፡ እኩያ⁴³፡ ከሐዲያ⁴⁴፡ ወተመሰልዎ⁴⁵፡
 ለቅዱስ⁴⁶፡ ፊልጶስ፡ በአምሳሌ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወቦሉ፡ ንቤቱ፡ እንዘ፡ ህሉ፡ ቀዊ
 ጥ፡ ይጻሊ፡ ውስተ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወቀተልዎ፡ ወጥተ፡ ሰማዕት፡ ዐቢይ⁴⁷፡
 ሰማዕቱ⁴⁸፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ ወቅድስት፡ አውጋንያ፡ ወእማ፡ ወካልኤ⁴⁹፡ ሕፁጥን⁵⁰፡
 እለ፡ ተጠምቆ፡ ምስሌግ፡ ወነበሩ⁵¹፡ ምስለ፡ አውጋንያ፡ ውስተ፡ መካን፡ ወሶ
 በ፡ አእመረ፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ዘሮሚያ⁵²፡ ዜናግ⁵³፡ ለቅድስት⁵⁴፡ አውጋንያ፡ ለአ
 ከ⁵⁵፡ ይጎሥሥዋ፡ ወያምጽእዋ፡ ንቤቱ⁵⁶፡ ርእዮሙ⁵⁷፡ ወተፈሥሐ⁵⁸፡ ዐቢየ⁵⁹፡ ወ
 ባረከ⁶⁰፡ ሳባህሙ፡ ወነሥአ፡ ለአውጋንያ፡ ወፈነዋ፡ ውስተ፡ ዐቢይ⁶¹፡ ምኒት፡
 ወባረከ⁶²፡ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶስ፡ ሳባ፡ አውጋንያ፡ ወሢማ፡ እመ፡ ምኒት⁶³፡ ለመካ፡

^a corr.

^b corr.; man. prim. ፊልጶስ፡ ?

¹ እንዘ፡ ይብል፡ C. ² ጸርከ፡ BC. ³ ወአብጽሕከ፡ B, q. l.; ወበጻሕከ፡ C.
⁴ ሲ. ለዐቢወ፡ ⁵ ወሶበ፡ ርእከ፡ C. ⁶ ወአስተጋቀርከ፡ BC. ⁷ መንገደሥተየ፡ C.
⁸ ግ affix. BC. ⁹ ወአእምር፡ BC. ¹⁰ ሲ om. C. ¹¹ ለእመ፡ ኢገባእከ፡ C. ¹² ነገ
 ር፡ C. ¹³ om. C. ¹⁴ በዘዘዚአሁ፡ BC, pro HH፡ ዚአሁ፡ ¹⁵ አንበባ፡ B; ዘንተ፡
 add. C. ¹⁶ ተፍዓ፡ C. ¹⁷ om. B. ¹⁸ እለስክንድርያ፡ B (C om. man. prim.,
 suppl. corr.); ሀገር፡ ዘእለስክንድርያ፡ C. ¹⁹ ክሱር፡ C. ²⁰ ወጽንግ፡ B, በጽ
 ንግት፡ C. ²¹ om. C. ²² ወ om. BC. ²³ ኤጲስ፡ ቆጶሳት፡ BC. ²⁴ አድያመ፡ BC.
²⁵ ለ om. BC. ²⁶ ሀገረ፡ እስክንድርያ፡ BC. ²⁷ ገደግ praef. C. ²⁸ ወወርጋ፡
 B, om. C. ²⁹ በ praef. C. ³⁰ ጳጳስና ፡ C. ³¹ ወመአ፡ B. ³² እምድጎረሁ፡ B.
³³ om. BC. ³⁴ ካልአ፡ BC, q. l. ³⁵ om. C. ³⁶ ወኢክህሉ፡ B, tr. ወበገሃድስ፡ ኢክ
 ህሉ፡ C. ³⁷ በገሃድስ፡ B. ³⁸ om. C. ³⁹ om. B. ⁴⁰ ከሐዲያ፡ B, ወክህድ
 ያ፡ C. ⁴¹ ወ om. B. ⁴² tr. ለፊልጶስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ B. ⁴³ ግቢይ፡ BC. ⁴⁴ ሰማ
 ዕት፡ B. ⁴⁵ ወ ጸ BC. ⁴⁶ ሲ. ጎጽዋን፡ ⁴⁷ ወ om. BC. ⁴⁸ ዘሮምያ፡ BC. ⁴⁹ በ
 ዜናግ፡ B. ⁵⁰ ለዛ፡ ቅድስት፡ B. ⁵¹ ከመ፡ add. B. ⁵² om. C; ወሶበ፡ አብጽ
 ሕዋ፡ add. BC, q. l. ⁵³ ርእዮ፡ C, q. l. ⁵⁴ ወ om. BC. ⁵⁵ ግቢየ፡ BC; add.
 ፍሥሐ፡ C. ⁵⁶ ወ om. B, add. ወጸለየ፡ BC. ⁵⁷ ግቢይ፡ BC. ⁵⁸ ወባረከ፡
 አውጋንያ፡ om. C. ⁵⁹ ምኒት፡ BC, q. l.

መነኩሳት ፡ ወኮና¹ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ እደሃ ፡ ደፂ² ፡ መነኩሳት ፡ ወሰለሙንቱሰ³ ፡ ሕፃዋን ፡ መነኩሳት ፡ ነሥሕሙ ፡ ኤዲስ ፡ ቀጰስ ፡ ወሄሞ⁴ ፡ ለ፮ ሳዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ እፍሬቅያ ፡ ወ ለካልኡ ፡ ሳዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ቀርጣገያ⁵ ፡ ወእምድኅረ ፡ ብዙን⁷ ፡ መዋዕል ፡ ተንሥአ ፡ ሳዕለ ፡ ሀገረ ፡ ሮምያ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ሞማ⁸ ፡ ወዐላዊ⁹ ፡ ወከሐደ¹⁰ ፡ ወአገብአ ፡ ጣቦታ ፡ ወእዘዘ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይዕጽጧ¹¹ ፡ እዘዘ¹² ፡ አብያተ ፡ ክርስቲያናተ¹³ ፡ ወመካነ ፡ መነኩሳት¹⁴ ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ወምኔታተ¹⁴ ፡ ወወፀአት ፡ ዛቲ ፡ ቅድሱት¹⁵ ፡ እመካነ¹⁶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዘይወፀእ ፡ ፈረሳዊ ፡ ለተቀትሱ¹⁷ ፡ ዕደው¹⁸ ፡ ወተቀወመተ¹⁹ ፡ ወተጋደለተ²⁰ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ሃይማኖተ ፡ ክርስቲስ²¹ ፡ ወአስተኅፈረተ²² ፡ በቅድመ ፡ ገጹ ፡ ወውለተ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ እዘዘ ፡ ለኩነሄ²³ ፡ ወኢያነተጉ²⁴ ፡ ኩንኖታ ፡ እኩያነ²⁵ ፡ እስከ ፡ ፈጽመት ፡ ስምዓ ፡ ወነሥአት ፡ እክሊለ ፡ በኃበ²⁶ ፡ ክርስቲስ²⁷ ፡ ወደጸንቦ²⁸ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ተወከለ ፡ ሳዕሌሃ²⁹ ፡ ወሳዕሌሁ ፡ ወሰዘ^c ፡ የኃሥሥ³⁰ ፡ ሥምረተ³¹ ፡ ወነሥአሱ³² ፡ ለእግዚእነ³³ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቲስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር³⁴ ፡ ቀዳማዊ ፡ ከመ ፡ የሀበነ ፡ ሥርየተ³⁵ ፡ በጸሎታ ፡ ለቅድስት ፡ አውጋንያ³⁶ ፡ ወአሱሃ³⁷ ፡ ፊልጶስ ፡ ሊቀ ፡ ጳጳሳት ፡ ሰማዕት ፡ ወበትንብልናሃ ፡ ለእግዚእነት ፡ ማርያም ፡ እሙ³⁸ ፡ ለብርሃን³⁹ ፡ ወበጸሎተ⁴⁰ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ወገብርኤል ፡ ደምኃረነ⁴¹ ፡ አብ ፡ ስብሐት⁴² ፡ ለቅዱስ⁴³ ፡ ለሥሎስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም^d ፡ አሜን ፡ ከጸሎተ^e ፡ ወበስእለታ ፡ ወበንጽሕናሃ ፡ ለአውጋንያ ፡ ወበቅድስናሁ ፡ ለፊልጶስ ፡ አሱሃ ፡ ይዕቀቦ ፡ ለአሱነ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ለዘአጽሐፍ ፡ ይጽሐፍ ፡ ውስተ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ ሕይወተ ፡ በሰማያት ፡ ከሜን ፡ ወአሜን ፡ ከጸሎተ^f ፡ ከጸሎተ^g ፡ ከጸሎተ^h ፡ ከጸሎተⁱ ፡ ከጸሎተ^j ፡ ከጸሎተ^k ፡ ከጸሎተ^l ፡ ከጸሎተ^m ፡ ከጸሎተⁿ ፡ ከጸሎተ^o ፡ ከጸሎተ^p ፡ ከጸሎተ^q ፡ ከጸሎተ^r ፡ ከጸሎተ^s ፡ ከጸሎተ^t ፡ ከጸሎተ^u ፡ ከጸሎተ^v ፡ ከጸሎተ^w ፡ ከጸሎተ^x ፡ ከጸሎተ^y ፡ ከጸሎተ^z ፡ ከጸሎተ^{aa} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ab} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ac} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ad} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ae} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{af} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ag} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ah} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ai} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{aj} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ak} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{al} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{am} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{an} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ao} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ap} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{aq} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ar} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{as} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{at} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{au} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{av} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{aw} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ax} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ay} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{az} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ba} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bb} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bc} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bd} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{be} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bf} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bg} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bh} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bi} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bj} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bk} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bl} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bm} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bn} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bo} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bp} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bq} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{br} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bs} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bt} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bu} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bv} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bw} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bx} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{by} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{bz} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ca} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cb} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cc} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cd} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ce} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cf} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cg} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ch} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ci} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cj} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ck} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cl} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cm} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cn} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{co} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cp} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cq} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cr} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cs} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ct} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cu} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cv} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cw} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cx} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cy} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{cz} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{da} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{db} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dc} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dd} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{de} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{df} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dg} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dh} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{di} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dj} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dk} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dl} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dm} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dn} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{do} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dp} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dq} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dr} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ds} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dt} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{du} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dv} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dw} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dx} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dy} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{dz} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ea} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{eb} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ec} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ed} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ee} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{ef} ፡ ከጸሎተ^{eg} ፡ ከ

^a *corr.; man. prim.* ሥፍ : ? ^b MS. አስተገረተ : ^c *corr.; man.*

prim. **ΩΗΛΗ** : ^dcorr.; man. prim. **ΛΗΛΩ** : **ΛΗΩ** :

¹ ወኩ፡ BC. ² F B. ³ ወለእሙቱለ፡ B. ⁴ om. B, tr. መኮላሳት፡ ሕፃዋን፡ C; l. ጎጽዋን፡ ⁵ w om. C. ⁶ አርጥኋይ ÷ B, ቅርጣንያ፡ C. ⁷ ብዙጥ፡ BC. ⁸ l. ማፂ፡ ⁹ tr. ወከሐዳ፡ ወጎላዊ፡ B, tr. ወከሀዳ፡ ወጎላዊ፡ C. ¹⁰ l. ወከሓዳ፡ ¹¹ ይፅፀፈ፡ B, ይፅፀፈ፡ C. ¹² om. BC, recte. ¹³ ክርስቲያናት፡ BC. ¹⁴ om. BC. ¹⁵ ንጽሕት፡ BC. ¹⁶ እመካና፡ BC, q. l. ¹⁷ ለተቃትሱ፡ BC, q. l. ¹⁸ ፅድው፡ C. ¹⁹ ተቃወመት፡ B, ወተቃውሞት፡ C, l. ወተቃወመት፡ ²⁰ ወተጋድሱት፡ C. ²¹ ክርስቲያን፡ C. ²² ወአስተጋፈረት፡ BC. ²³ በዙዜ፡ B, ሳባለ፡ አውጋንያ፡ ዙዜ፡ ጎሲያ፡ C; l. ለዙዜ፡ ²⁴ w om. B, ወኢያንት፡ C. ²⁵ tr. እኩያን፡ ኩንፍታ፡ B, q. l.; ዙዜ፡ ፀቡብ፡ C. ²⁶ እምጎብ፡ C. ²⁷ እንደዚህሐሐር፡ C. ²⁸ ዘያጸን፡ BC. ²⁹ ሳባሌ፡ w om. BC. ³⁰ ወለዘየኃሥሥ፡ BC. ³¹ ጸሎትሙ፡ ወበረከተሙ፡ የፃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ገብርሙ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ add. B; hinc ad fin. tot. om. C, በረከታ፡ ለዛቲ፡ ቅድስት፡ አውጋንያ፡ ወጸሎት፡ አሎ፡ ፊልጶስ፡ ሊቀ፡ ጳጳሳት፡ የፃሉ፡ ምስለ፡ ንገሥት፡ ወለተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ (ወምስለ፡ አመታ፡ ወለተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ add. corr.) ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም ÷ አሜን ÷ add. ³² ወንሕዜ፡ ንስሐሱ፡ B, q. l. ³³ ለእንዚህ፡ ወልደ፡ om. B. ³⁴ ለ praef. B. ³⁵ ስርየተ፡ B, q. l. ³⁶ አውጋን፡ B. ³⁷ ወበጸሎት፡ አሎ፡ B. ³⁸ እመ፡ B. ³⁹ ለ om. B. ⁴⁰ w om. B. ⁴¹ ይምጥ(l. ሐ)ረነ፡ አብ፡ om. B; ወበጸሎት፡ ዙሉሙ፡ መላእክት፡ ወሊቃነ፡ መላእክት፡ አእሳፊ፡ አእሳፋት፡ እለ፡ ኢይነውሙ ÷ ወበጸሎት፡ ዙሉሙ፡ ዳድቃን፡ ወሰማዕት፡ ለዓለሙ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ add. B. ⁴² w praef. B. ⁴³ tr. ለሥሎስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ B. ⁴⁴ በጸሎታ፡ ad fin. tot. om. BC; ወፊድፋደስ፡ ለአጽ

THE STORY OF EUGENIA AND PHILIP.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. The story of the holy Eugenia and the story of her father the holy martyr Philip the patriarch. Now there reigned over the country of Rome an unbelieving and wicked tyrant whose name was Commodus, who worshipped idol gods. He put over the city of Alexandria the pagan man whose name was Philip. And he had a wife who believed, *but* in secret for fear of her husband. And she bore him a daughter, stately and beautiful, and her name was Eugenia. And when the wretch had come and entered into the city of Alexandria, he commanded them to close the churches and he drove out the Christians. And his daughter was a virgin; and she learned all the wisdom of Rome and all the interpretation of books. And when it befell that her days were fifteen years, many princes sought her from her father to marry her. And the wicked prince her father spoke to her and said to her, O my daughter, know that many princes and kings seek thee from me. Tell me what thou dost wish. What hast thou to say? And she answered her father and said to him, The love of wealth and riches does not become thee, O my father, but rather love of mercy and love of goodness and the doing of good works.

And one day after this, when the blessed one was reading the letter of Paul, and was interpreting his excellent words, she learned the faith of his spiritual words, and there entered into her heart the desire for repentance and for the garment of monasticism. And one day she asked her father to command her to go out to the country of the city of Alexandria, that she might find comfort and have her eyes opened. And when her father heard this, he rejoiced greatly, and he sent with her two eunuchs, handsome and pure, to guard her until she should return. And while she was walking and finding comfort, she came to a convent of monks, and she heard them read the psalm which says, The gods of the peoples are demons, but the Lord made the heavens. And when she heard this, she interpreted and told her eunuchs the interpretation of the psalm, and she said, See that my father, and all they who are with him, worship the demons *and*¹ Satans. And it behooves us to seek the interpretation of the Scriptures and the spiritual glory of eternal life, good for our souls. And her eunuchs accepted what she said. And they answered her and said to her, How does it become us, O mistress, to save our soul? And she answered them and said to them, It is fitting that you cut off the hair of my head, and then I will put on man's attire, and we three will go unto the abbot of this blessed place; for I have

ሐፊሁ : ወልደ : ጊዮርጊስ : ይጽሐፍ : ስም : እግዚአብሔር : በመንገሥተ : ሰማያት : ለገለመ : ገለ : (ኢ. ገለም :) አሜን ፥ ለዘጸሐፍ : ወለዘአጽሐፍ : ለዘአንበር : ወለዘተርጉም : ወለዘሰምን : ቃላቲሁ : ይጽሐፍ : ስምሙ : ገበ : ገምደ : ብርሃን : በቀለመ : ወርቅ : ወይደምሮሙ : ገበ : ከብካበ : መርገ : ሰማያዊ : አሜን ፥
add. B.

¹ Or, even the

heard concerning him that he does many great wonders, but he does not look upon the face of woman. And the eunuchs did as she commanded them; and they rose up and went, until they came unto the gate of the monastery. And they knocked, and they opened to them the gate of the monastery. And they came unto the church and prayed. And when they had finished, they went unto the abbot of that blessed place, whose name was Theodorus, a spiritual *man*; much do they tell of the goodness of this abbot, that he carried fire in his garment, and it did not burn, and he bore it whithersoever he would. And when they beheld this holy abbot, and saw the excellence of his doing, they bowed down unto him, and he blessed them and said to them, From whence are ye, my beloved? and what are the names of each one of you? And the maiden answered him and said to him, O saint of the Lord, as for me, my name is Eugenius, and my father worships idols; and as for these youths, they are my brothers. And the abbot said to them, Remain, O my children, and the will of Jesus Christ shall be done. And while he was talking with them and teaching them there came into the monastery a sorcerer, with a great multitude of people, to contend with the abbot about the word of Christ our Lord. But the abbot was learned in the word of all the spiritual scriptures. And the abbot talked with the sorcerer, and he was not able to convert him. And the abbot said to the sorcerer, Let them kindle a great fire in the midst of this place, and I will go into the fire; and do thou also go in after me, and the one of us that comes forth alive, and is not burned, we shall know that his god is the true God. And the sorcerer was pleased with this plan. And when the fire was kindled, the abbot rose up and all the company with him, and they went with him there, and the maiden with her eunuchs, and they came unto the place. And the abbot drew near unto the fire, and signed his face with the sign of the cross and entered into the fire with his garments and with his shoes; and he drew near and stood in the fire half an hour of the day. And the fire was cold, and he came forth from the midst of it and not one of the hairs of his head nor one of the fibres¹ of his garments was burned. And the multitude wondered at him for this marvel and they glorified God. And then they turned unto the sorcerer, and said to him, Arise, and go into the fire, even as the abbot went in, that we may know the might of thy god in this fire. And they made the sorcerer to draw near unto the fire, while he trembled, and when he drew near unto the fire, it blazed up and burned and seized his head and his beard. And then he cried out and shouted and implored the bishop saying, Save me, O lord, from the burning of the fire, for I believe in thy God, Jesus Christ the Nazarene. And when the abbot heard this word from him, he took him by his hand and brought him forth from the fire. And when the multitude saw this, they wondered at it and glorified God, and said, Our Lord Jesus Christ thy God, O our father, is in truth the true God. And the sorcerer entreated the abbot to baptize him in the name of the Father and the Son and the Spirit. And he baptized him and all the

¹ Or, "any of the nap."

multitude that came with him, and he taught them the word of life and he blessed them and prayed and spoke unto (?) them, and they went forth rejoicing and glorifying him, and they worshipped and worship our God Jesus Christ.

And Eugenius and her two eunuchs asked the abbot to baptize them and clothe them with the clothing of monasticism, and the holy one did so. And Eugenius and the two eunuchs abode three years, observing prayers and the reading of the Psalms and many vigils, until their appearance was changed and their flesh was reduced exceedingly from much affliction, and she did not neglect the reading of the spiritual scriptures.

And then her father sent men to seek her, and he despatched many horses and riders of them to seek her in all the land and the region adjacent to Alexandria, and they sought her and did not find a trace of her. And her father also and her mother grieved for her with a grief exceeding great, and they began to lament and weep much. And from the greatness of his grief for her, her father commanded them to make for him an image in her image and in her likeness. And they made it and placed it in his house. And when he came in and went out, he looked upon it and bowed down to it, that he might be comforted for his daughter. And the holy and blessed abbot of the monastery abode three years in that place. And after that our Lord Jesus Christ received his elect soul unto himself. And the monks of the place mourned exceedingly for him. And when the monks saw the goodness of Eugenia's way and the wisdom of his reading in the scriptures of spiritual divinity, their judgment was to make him abbot of the monastery over them. And they conferred together and said, There is no one who shall sit upon the throne of the abbot of this monastery except this youth. And now also come, let us ask this holy youth Eugenius. And they besought him concerning it and they appointed him and they made him abbot of the monastery over them, but they did not know that she was a female. And the holy one applied herself to the service of the monastery and to all that was done for providing for the wants of the place, the bringing of water and the cutting of wood and the cleansing and purifying of the place; and she cooked for them and went into the city and bought the necessities of the monks; and as for her, she stood at the time of the hours of *prayer* in her¹ time always. And the monks knew no change from the former abbot of the monastery except her fair appearance. But this holy one, behold he benefitted them, as a strong horseman that is ready to fight with an enemy. And our Lord Jesus Christ gave her the fair gift of casting out demons and restoring the sick and opening the eyes of the blind.

And a noble woman of the great ones of Alexandria heard of the wonders of Eugenia the head of the monastery, and this woman had an unclean spirit upon her that distressed her much. And she said to her servants, Bring me unto the abbot of the monastery that he may restore

¹ Lit., "his."

me. And they did so, and she came unto the abbot of the monastery and fell at the feet of the saint of God, and said, Have compassion on me, O holy one of God, and deliver me from this my sickness. And the holy one prayed for her, and Satan departed from the woman, and thereafter she was healed, and she went away. And when she came to her palace she sent unto the abbot of the monastery many presents. And when the holy one of God saw the presents, he said, Return unto your lady, for it is meet for her that she distribute among you and among the needy. And after many days the woman who had recovered from her sickness came unto the abbot of the monastery and prayed there, and she saw the excellent beauty of Eugenius and she thought that he was a young man, and Satan stirred up her heart and she loved him in wickedness. And when she went unto her dwelling she took much riches and gems, pearls¹ and fine raiment and bore it all until she brought it unto the gate of the monastery. And she called one of the monks, and said unto him, Be pleased to call to me here the abbot of the monastery that I may speak with him. And the monk went and told the saint, and said to him, O our father, behold there is at the gate of the monastery one that would talk with thee. And the holy one of God went forth, and when the woman saw him, her heart burned with the strength of her evil love, and she questioned him and said to him, If thou dost desire, my lord, to take this wealth, and gems, pearls, and clothing, leave this place, and thou shalt not afflict thy soul, and come with me that thou mayest marry me, for my husband is dead. And when Eugenius heard this word from the woman, he knew that this evil word was of the persuasion of Satan, the evil-doer. And he answered and said to her, Depart from me, O woman, and take thy raiment and thy wealth, because Satan has entered into thee. And she went to Alexandria in great shame and grief, and Satan brought her and led her unto the governor of Alexandria. And she said to him, Hear me, let me tell thee. There is in a certain place a young monk that is handsome *and* pleasing, who appears to men to be patient and good. For because I had need, I went unto that place with my menservants and my maidservants and lodged there. And when it was night, there came unto me this pleasing young monk while I slept, and he stood over me and wished to humble me. And if I had not cried out and called one of my maidservants, he would have dishonored me and wrought me shame. And when the governor heard this speech, he sent straightway unto the monastery many soldiers and horsemen and they surrounded the monastery and seized Eugenius and all the monks and brought them unto the governor. And when the governor saw the holy Eugenius and his monks, he did not talk with them at all at that time, but merely turned to the chief of his præfects and said to him, Take this youth and the monks and cast them into fetters, and punish them each with his *due* punishment. And there was great grief in the city of Alexandria because of these holy monks because they were judged.²

¹ Or, "gems of pearls."

² Or, "punished."

And on the third day the governor commanded them to bring the abbot of the monastery unto him. And they brought the holy one bound with chains and set him before the governor. And he said unto the holy one, Come unto me, O pleasing youth. And when he drew near unto him, then he said to him, Woe be unto thee! Is it so written in your gospel, and has your Christ so commanded you, that ye should do a deed of fornication, whereby thou hast desired to dishonor this noble woman? And when the holy one of God heard the word of the governor, he bowed down once and knew that our Lord Jesus Christ desired and wished to reveal her secrets and show them. And she said, in the midst of the assembled people, As for this woman who says that I have sinned against her, as ye think, cause her to come and stand before me here. And the governor commanded them to bring the woman. And when she came before them, the holy one cried out before them and before her and said, Not for thy sake, O unclean one, is it that I reveal this secret this day, but that the name of my Lord and my God Jesus Christ may be glorified, and that these my brethren may be saved from this punishment. Then she turned unto her father the governor and said to him, If I tell thee the truth, wilt thou judge this lying woman? And the governor said, O youth, say what thou hast to say.¹ And she said unto him, Have me brought near unto thee, and let the people go forth hence, that I may speak once with thee. And the governor commanded that the people be removed, and she caused to draw near and she drew near unto him and she rent the opening of her garment upon her breast. And she said unto him, Gaze at me, and see my nature, O governor; I am thy daughter Eugenius, and I have done all this for the love of my Lord Jesus Christ. And when the governor saw this great wonder, he rushed unto his daughter and embraced her and wept; and he said, Thou art in truth my daughter and the apple² of my eye and my child. And verily I say to thee, behold I believe in thy god my Lord Jesus Christ, the true God. And he commanded straightway that they should bring forth the holy monks from the prison and bring them unto him. And when they came unto him he comforted them, and he commanded and treated them kindly and he gave them much wealth and sent them to their place. And for those of the monks that had died from the punishment, he commanded that they should make a funeral and bury them. And then he rose up and took his daughter the holy Eugenia by the³ hand and came with her unto his abode with joy and gladness. And when her mother saw her she fell upon her breast upon her daughter, and she began to kiss her and she wept and said, O my daughter, is it not fitting that thou shouldest pity thy mother's grief and hunger and toil and tears? For my heart has been wounded in the length of all this age and *these* years for thy sake. And her father took a spade and an axe and he entered into the house of his idols and he broke all his gods which sat there, when he worshipped them. And then he went forth and sat upon his judgment seat and he commanded

¹ Lit., "what is with thee."² Lit., "bag."³ Lit., "his."

by a herald that they should open the churches and that Christians should return to their faith and should be taught their law as they were wont and should break down the house of the idols. And the city of Alexandria and all the region round about it rejoiced that day. And he rose up and went without shoes until he came unto the bishop of the city of Alexandria. And he was baptized, he and every man of his house, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.

And when the report of it came unto the king of Rome, who had placed him over the city of Alexandria, and when the king knew that he had been baptized and believed on our Lord Jesus Christ, then he sent unto him a letter saying: How hast thou done,¹ and *how* has it occurred to thee to disobey my command and my law and thou hast broken my gods and hast despised my authority and hast followed Christ whom the Jews crucified? And now also know thou, if thou dost not turn from this opinion, I will punish thy flesh with every punishment. And when Philip the governor read the writing of the wicked king, he spat upon his letter and tore it, and he did not return to him a word, and did not send unto him legates. And when the men of Alexandria saw the goodness of the work of this blessed man and the strength of his faith, then the bishops of all the region of Egypt, from every place,² gathered together and they made him patriarch of Alexandria, and he presided a year and a month as patriarch. And after that there came another governor to Alexandria, and he desired to slay Philip the patriarch. But it was not possible for him to do it openly. But secretly the wicked governor sent unto him evil, treacherous men, and they made themselves like the holy Philip in the guise of Christians; and they came unto him while he stood praying in a church. And they slew him and he died, a great martyr, the martyr of Christ. And the holy Eugenia and her mother and the two eunuchs who were baptized with her (and) abode with Eugenia in a certain place. And when the bishop of Rome knew the story of the holy Eugenia, he sent *men* to seek her and bring her unto him. And when he saw them he rejoiced greatly, and blessed them. And he took Eugenia and sent her unto a great convent, and the bishop blessed Eugenia and he placed her as abbess of a place of nuns; and there were beneath her hand three hundred nuns. And as for those eunuchs that were monks, the bishop took them, *and* set one over the district of Africa and the other over the district of Carthage.

And after many days there arose over the city of Rome an unrighteous and wicked and unbelieving king, and he brought back the idols and commanded them to close the churches and places of the holy monks and the monasteries. And the holy one went forth from the place just as a horseman goes forth to fight with men, and she withstood him and strove with him because of the faith of Christ, and shamed him to his face. And then he gave orders for her punishment. And the wicked men did not cease tormenting her until she completed her testimony and

¹ The original perhaps had, "How hast thou dared."

² Or, "see."

received a crown for the sake of Christ. And he will protect him that trusts in her and in him, and him who seeks his favor. And let us ask our Lord Jesus Christ the son of God first (?) that he give us forgiveness through the prayer of the holy Eugenia and her father Philip the patriarch, the martyrs; and through the intercession of our lady Mary the mother of light and through the prayers of Michael and of Gabriel may the Father have compassion on us. Glory to the holy and triune for ever and ever. Amen.

Through the prayer and through the petition and through the sanctity of Eugenia and through the holiness of Philip her father, may he watch over our father John, him who caused this to be written; may he write him in the book of life in heaven. Amen and Amen.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD.

BY EDGAR JAMES BANKS,
The University of Chicago.

During the afternoon of the 27th of last January, while standing on the summit of the temple at Bismya watching the progress of the excavations, Abbas, a bright young Arab from Affedj, stuck his head out of the trench in which he was working, and excitedly motioned to me. In a moment I was in the trench. Two and a half meters below the surface, and imbedded in the west corner of the mud-brick platform of the temple, appeared the smooth white shoulder of a large marble statue. As the discovery of such an object creates great excitement among the superstitious men, I quickly covered the white marble with dirt and, with the remark that it was nothing but a stone, transferred the gang to another place. The remainder of the afternoon was spent in wondering if the statue were perfect, or if its head were lacking; if it bore an inscription, and what its age might be. When at sunset the last man had left the excavations, we descended into the trench and with our hands carefully dug away the hard dirt from beneath the statue. The bent elbow appeared; we had found a statue with the arms free from the body. We dug toward the neck, and to our disappointment the marble came to an end; the statue was headless. Then, digging at the other end, we reached the feet; the toes were missing, but we recovered them from among the small fragments of marble which were scattered about in the dirt. It was dark when the statue was released, and standing upright, by the light of a match, we searched it over for an inscription; but beneath the clinging dirt nothing like writing was visible. Wrapping about it an *aba*, we each took turn in carrying it to camp, fully a quarter of a mile away. It was not an easy task, for our ancient king weighed nearly two hundred pounds.

In the tent a bath was quickly prepared, and, as the dirt was washed away, three lines of a beautifully distinct inscription in the most archaic character appeared written across the right upper arm. There were but three short lines, little more than

three words; but later, when I was able to translate them, they told us all that we most wished to know.

About three weeks later, February 18, a workman, who was employed at the north corner of the temple, thirty meters from

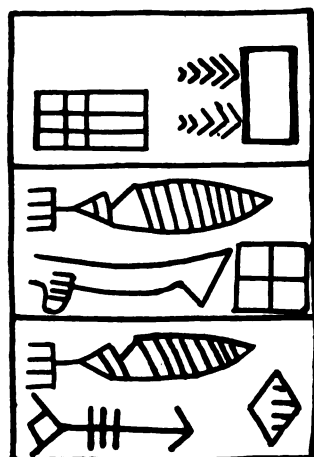


the spot where the statue was found, was clearing away the dirt near a wall, when a large round piece of dirty marble rolled out. We picked it up and cleared away the dirt. Slowly the eyes, the nose, and the ears of the head of a statue appeared. I hurriedly took it to my tent and placed it upon the neck of the headless statue. It fitted; the statue was complete. From beneath the thick coating of dirt the marble face seemed to light up with a wonderful smile of gratitude, for the long sleep of thousands of years in the grave was at an end, and the long-lost head was restored; or perhaps the smile was but the reflection of our own feelings.

circ. 31 in.
The statue, including the low pedestal upon which it stands, is 78 centimeters high and 81 around the bottom of the skirt. The upper part of the body is entirely naked; the lower part is clothed in an embroidered skirt of six folds held up by a band and fastened behind. The back and shoulders are gracefully formed, the arms at the elbows are free from the body, and the hands are clasped before the waist. The well-shaped head is without hair, and the face is beardless; the eyes and eyebrows are now hollows in which ivory or precious stones were set. This

is by far the most perfect and graceful statue yet found in Babylonia, and, as far as I know, the only one really in the round.

The inscription of three lines on its right upper arm is as follows:



E-šar

Lugal Dad-du¹

Lugal Ud-nun-ki

(Temple) Eshar.

King Daddu.

King of Udnun.

The first tells us the name of the temple of ancient Bismya, a temple quite new to Assyriologists. The second gives the name of the king represented by the statue; it may be pronounced Dad-du or Da-udu (David?), a name hitherto unknown. The third line contains the ancient name of Bismya, Ud-nun which is mentioned, together with other Babylonian cities, in IV R., 38;5, V R. 23, 27 sq. and in the Code of Hammurabi. The two elements of the name are joined together, but its frequent repetition upon tablets, seal cylinders, and vases, makes the reading certain.

When did this unknown king, Daddu—if that be his name—live? And when did his newly discovered city, Ud-nun, flourish? Further excavations at Bismya will answer the question. For the present it must suffice to say that the archaic character of the writing, the depth at which the statue was discovered, far below the ruins of Naram-Sin's time, the entire absence of the name both of the king and of the city in the earliest records from Nippur and Telloh, and a study of other inscriptions found at Bismya, all point to an antiquity exceeding that of any other known king of Babylonia.

BAGDAD, August 1, 1904.

¹ Perhaps it would be better to read as indicated below, Da-udu.—PRICE.

SPURIOUS ANTIQUITIES IN BAGDAD.

BY EDGAR JAMES BANKS,
The University of Chicago.

Four-fifths of all the antiquities offered for sale in Bagdad are spurious. This is the conclusion reached after three months spent in visiting dozens of shops of antiquity manufacturers and dealers, and after an examination of hundreds of statues, bas-reliefs, clay and stone tablets, inscribed bronze rings, stone vases, seal cylinders, and objects unlike anything which the ancient world ever produced. One would suppose that Bagdad, surrounded as it is by the ruins of the ancient Babylonian cities, would have enough genuine antiquities without producing imitations. This is precisely the reason why the antiquity forger flourishes here. A continuous stream of his products is making its way from Bagdad to the private collections of Europe, and more than one successful piece has found a conspicuous place in the show-case of a great national museum.

Assyriology had hardly come into existence when this illegitimate offspring appeared. The early forgers confined their energies largely to the manufacture of tablets, and as a knowledge of the cuneiform was not deemed necessary, they merely molded the clay, and, stamping upon it a few wedge-shaped marks, produced an object which could deceive none but themselves. The next step was to cast the tablets, and in this they were more successful. They were unable, however, entirely to remove the traces of the casting marks, the characters were less sharp, and the weight and the peculiar salty taste of the original were lacking. When the tablets from Telloh were found in such large quantities, the genuine article became so cheap that for the moment the imitation of the ordinary "contract" practically ceased.

The manufacture of seal cylinders has been a profitable source of revenue increasing with the European demand for these ancient art treasures. The simplest method of imitation is by molding colored glass, or a composition resembling granite, but at the best the objects thus produced are crude. The more

successful imitations are engraved from fragments of larger antiquities or from stones found in the hills of Upper Mesopotamia. The engraver may either copy a design from a genuine cylinder or originate one of his own, and in either case detection may be difficult, for seal cylinders of almost every kind of stone, of all grades of workmanship, and with an unlimited variety of designs have been discovered. Although in this line his chance of success is the greatest, he finds difficulty in boring the hole in the center of the stone, or, boring in from both ends, he cannot join it well in the center, or he fails to produce the exact effect upon the edges of the hole which are frequently worn away by constant rubbing. In purchasing a seal cylinder not only should the material and workmanship be examined, but especially the design should be studied—a test which only the expert familiar with Babylonian mythology can employ.

In very recent years the forger has directed his energy to statue-making. The material which he employs is a soft limestone or marble. His design is taken either from the illustrations of the monuments of Nineveh, Khorsabad, and Nimrud, or from his own imagination. The face of the statue, if of a man, is usually bearded in the Assyrian style, the dress is more or less Greek or Roman, the eyes are not well placed, and the entire surface of the statue has an unmistakable yellowish tint produced by an application of acid. Occasionally the statue is of a female figure, sometimes seated, sometimes leaning against a post, or in some other position which the forger assumes would be appropriate for a Babylonian lady to assume. Frequently a trace of an inscription, too faint to read, accompanies the statue, or the head is broken off, or an arm is lacking, to give it an air of genuineness. Of the fifty or more statues now for sale in Bagdad, nearly all were made by a Persian named Riza who has succeeded in disposing of most of his work to the native Bagdad antiquity dealers.

Just at the present moment the energy of Riza and the other Persian engravers in Bagdad and Kerbela is directed to the copying of stone tablets and vase inscriptions, the originals of which from Telloh, Abu Habba, and Babylon have fallen into their hands. Instead of an exact copy, occasionally a line from another inscription is inserted so carefully that detection is exceedingly difficult. The freshness of the inscription, or the

marks of acid which may have been added to give it the appearance of age, are about the only clues. Quite as difficult to detect is an inscription which may be copied on an ancient vase or other ancient object which previously bore no inscription, and here also only the recent marks of the chisel or of acids, or some careless oversight of the engraver, as the crowding of the characters, the division of the words, or the shallowness of his lines, betrays his work.

Fortunately for the archæologist, most of the forgeries are still in the hands of the illicit antiquity dealers in Bagdad, and there they are likely to remain. However, the dealer eagerly watches the advent of the stranger, displays his wares, and carefully explains how he dug up this statue at Abu Habba, and how that stone tablet was sent by a friend from Telloh, or that vase was stolen by a workman from the Germans at Babylon. If the stranger is too wise to buy, it is shipped, whenever opportunity may offer, along with some genuine antiquities to London or Paris or Berlin, and there its fate depends upon the shrewdness and training of the archæologist into whose hands it happens to fall.

BAGDAD, August 22, 1904.

A VASE INSCRIPTION FROM WARKA.

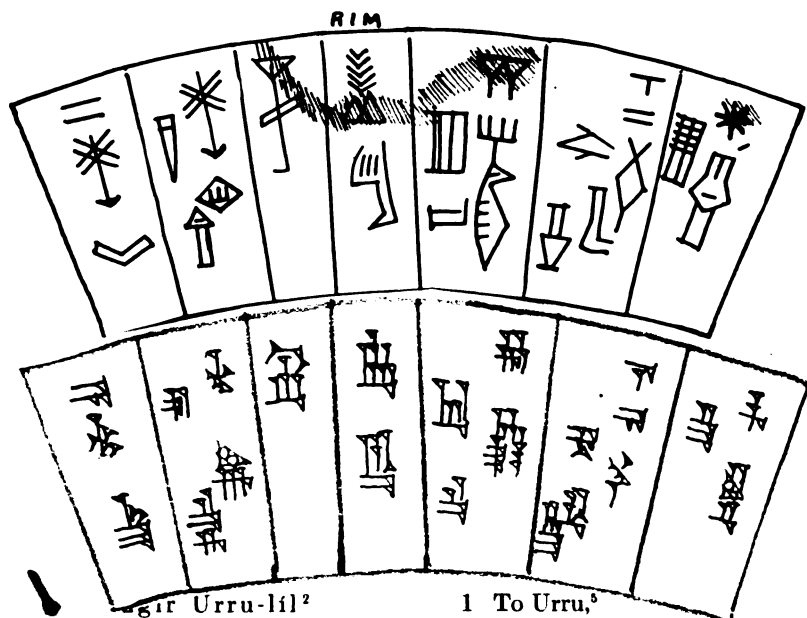
BY EDGAR JAMES BANKS,
The University of Chicago.

- An Arab woman who was recently searching for antiquities at Warka, the ancient Erech, discovered an inscribed bowl-shaped vase of a beautiful greenish-tinted onyx. The vase was sold to a passing Arab for a karan, or eight cents, and finally it came into the possession of a Bagdad collector, who claims that he purchased it for four liras (\$17.60). It stands 10 centimeters high; it is 16.5 in diameter at the top, and 6 at the bottom; its walls average 1 centimeter in thickness. When found, the base was broken off, but it is now fitted to the upper part, forming a perfect specimen of a vase used in the temple service during the fifth millennium B. C.

A small portion of its polished surface near the rim has been cut away to obliterate an inscription which once stood there, yet

traces of a few characters, among them *Lugal Kish*, king of Kish, possibly appear.

By the side of the obliterated inscription is a perfect one of seven lines, written in the most archaic characters. It would appear that the vase was lost to its original owner, possibly through war, and that its later possessor, Lugal-kisal-si, king of Erech, caused the earlier inscription to be erased; upon the birth of a son a new inscription was added, and the vase was presented by the hand of a priest as a votive offering of the newly born child.



- gir Urru-lil²
 2 išib A-gid-ḥa-du³ ta
 3 dumu Lugal-kisal-si
 4 tu-da
 5 dam⁴
 6 Mu⁵-ḥar-sag-ni
 7 a-mu-šub.

- 1 To Urru,⁵
 2 the priest A-gid-ḥa-du
 3 the son of Lugal-kisal-si
 4 born of
 5 his wife
 6 Mu-ḥar-sag
 7 has given (this vase).

BAGDAD, August 20, 1904.

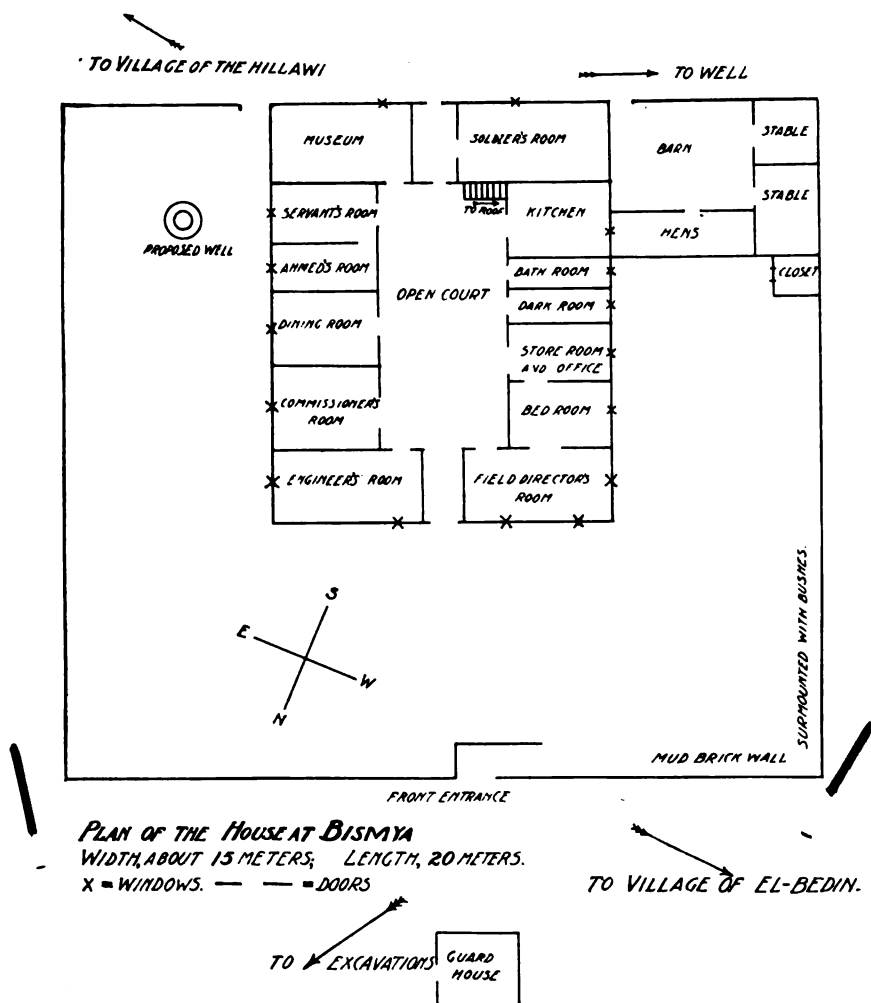
¹ See Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part II, Plate 37, No. 86, l. 7, and also Plate 42, No. 89.

² Compare IV R. 5, 66 a.

³ Nin-a-gid-ḥa-du is a goddess mentioned in Hilprecht's book (Vol. I, Plate 38, l. 32).

⁴ According to Hilprecht, this form of mu and dam does not appear together in any Nippur inscription (see Part II, p. 34).

⁵ Or, To Urru, by the priest A-gid-ḥa-du, the son of Lugal-kisal-si, born of his wife Mu-ḥar-sag, is (this vase) given.—PRICE.



The Camp of The Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund at Bismya.

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POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL ANTIQUITIES
OF THE SARGONID PERIOD.

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It is not to be expected that any exhaustive treatment of this subject can be achieved for years to come. C. H. W. Johns, in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, has shown us one field from which much information may be derived, and has done excellent pioneer work in Assyrian official antiquities. It is the present purpose to render more available for the general student the rich material in R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*. The accompanying index is intended to give a list of all the various officials, tradesmen, and men of sacred and learned professions, that are mentioned in the eight volumes of letters now published. It will be followed by excursus upon different functionaries, as opportunity may be afforded. A number of such discussions are already more or less complete.

The determinative prefix *amēlu* is used throughout the letters with very great regularity. But few cases of its omission are noticeable. A *rab-so-and-so* may sometimes be without it, as in the case of Abnī, the *rab BIR* of the land of the city of Arpadda, in [221] K. 175, obv. 12. The term *piḫittu* is also used in a way that leaves one a little uncertain whether or not some functionary is always meant. We have *amēl bēl piḫitte*, as in [573] K. 1003, obv. 7; *bēl piḫitti*, [608] K. 1136, rv. 9; *piḫitte ša bīti mar-šarri ša kutalli*, [658] 83-1-18, 81, obv. 9, 10. In the stereotyped formulae of salutation, we have

ana ^{amēl} piḫitti ša Bēlit parši šulmu, in [12] 666, obv. 6, 7. The same without the ^{amēl} occurs in [7] K. 601, obv. 4. I do not at present know any other term that affords so much cause for uncertainty. Its occurrence without any determinative prefix is frequent; yet in some of these places a functionary is certainly meant. There may be a few other words without any determinative prefix which really indicate officials; one cannot be positive on this point till every word occurring in the letters is certainly understood.

It is not intended to include in this index gentile names and adjectives. These belong rather to the geographical data afforded by the letters, which are being compiled by Mr. O. A. Toffteen. There are terms, of course, concerning which there may be a reasonable doubt; and it may be that some have been assigned to the geographical data that should have been included here.

Also, it has been the intention to omit all occurrences of other words with the determinative prefix ^{amēlu} that do not promise anything of importance in relation to the general subject. The word ṣābē has been omitted from the list, being a purely general term, without any necessary implications of rank. For illustration, we have in [631] K. 1265, obv. 9-13, Ya-ra-pa-a, rab ki-ṣir; Ḫa-tar-a-nu, rab ki-ṣir; Ga-na-bu, Ta-am-ra-nu; puḫur 4 ^{amēl} ṣābē; yet two of the four are colonels in the army.

It will be recognized, then, as advisable that a list should be given here indicating terms systematically excluded from the index. Besides the frequent ^{amēl} ṣābē, we find ^{amēl} emūḫi-ia or -šu, "a man of my or his troop," *e. g.*, [197] K. 181, obv. 11; ^{amēlu} alone, for "a man" or "any man," [55] K. 483, rv. 1, 4; ^{amēl} + u-tu for "mankind," [128] K. 650, obv. 10; ^{amēl} mār-šu = "the man his son," [117] K. 991, rv. 12, ^{amēl} ardu, [9] K. 618, obv. 14; ^{amēl} nakru, or nakrūti, "the enemy," [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, obv. 21; ^{amēl} tebiē, "attacking forces," [275] K. 82, obv. 17, rv. 12; ^{amēl} bēlē ḫiṭu, "leaders of rebellion," [460] K. 1250, obv. 15; ^{amēl} parriṣu šū, "that liar," [208] K. 617, obv. 17; ^{amēl} bēl iḫtallikāni, "the leader of those who ravage," [771] 83-1-18, 49, rv. 13; ^{amēl} lišānišu, "a man of his speech," [741] S. 807, obv. 5; ^{amēl} mukinnika, "your supporter," [416] 80-7-19, 19, obv. 6; ^{amēl} kinatātikunu, similar to preceding, [37] K. 1039, obv. 7; ^{amēl} ra'māni, "(those men

are not) lovers (of the king my lord)," [277] K. 1066, rv. 8; ^{amēl} zi'rāni, "haters," [210] K. 647, rv. 9; ^{amēl} bēl dinia, "my adversary, prosecutor," [416] 80-7-19, 19, obv. 7; ^{amēl} ḥabtūte, "plunderers," [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 16; ^{amēl} ḥubtu, "prisoner, captive," [280] K. 10, obv. 10; ^{amēl} munnabitu, "fugitive," [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 16; ^{amēl} bēlē ṭabtia, "my allies, partisans," [281] K. 13, obv. 12, 24; ^{amēl} ḥanīu, "poor fellow," [787] R^m 55, rv. 6; ^{amēl} GIG, probably "sick man," instead of ḳadištu, [370] 81-2-4, 49, obv. 14; ^{amēl} miḥir, [718] Bu. 91-5-9, 87, rv. 6; ^{amēl} mār-bānū, [280] K. 10, obv. 16; ^{amēl} ḳinnišu, etc., "a man of his family," [542] K. 114, rv. 7; amat ēkalli, "a female slave of the palace," [99] K. 5466, rv. 13; all passages that merely express family relationships, such as "father," "brother," "sister," etc.; ^{amēl} a, in a broken passage, [101] K. 561, rv. 11, perhaps stands for "son." In a few passages there may be scribal errors; but this question is best deferred for the excursus. It is understood that the foregoing are but specimen references; some of the phrases occur frequently. Their irrelevance to the proposed investigation will be recognized.

Nor has it been deemed within the province of the index to correct the occasional scribal errors. It is preferred to give the reading as it stands, leaving corrections and comments for the excursus. Anyone will recognize that tur šip-ia, [500] K. 1303, obv. 10, is an error for tur šip-ri-ia; ma-za-si pa-ni, [656] 82-5-22, 168, rv. 8, is the reading in the text for mazazi = manzazi. Tur me-ša-ni occurs in [205] K. 537, obv. 5. I suspect the ša is a defective ra, and that we should read mār-šiprāni. A.ri, however, for "courier," does not seem to be an error, as one might at first suppose. It is listed by Brānnow, No. 11451. It occurs in ^{amēl} a.ri.ka, [208] K. 617, rv. 9. Scribal errors are, on the whole, rare in titular elements of the Letters.

The references given are double: the first number, in brackets, being the number of the letter in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, while the second is the British Museum number. Much care has been taken in the compilation and in the proof-reading, that the numbers at least may be accurate.

The order of the officials is that followed by Johns in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, so far as the data permit. It is hoped that this will facilitate the use of both sets of data by those who may take an interest in the subject. Yet many terms occur which

are not discussed by Johns; these follow immediately after the others, and are arranged in alphabetical order.

The present state of Assyriology leaves us in uncertainty about many terms and words. The last page or so of this index contains terms that are *hapax legomena* in the letters so far published; and their occurrence is of a character that renders it impossible to dogmatize. Frequently all preceding or subsequent connection is lost, and all that can be affirmed at present is that here are phrases to be examined: a few of them may not after all indicate officials or artisans. The compiler of the index has examined these places carefully, and decides that the phrases demand consideration from those interested in the official life of Assyria. It is not advisable to commit one's self further now.

The damaged character of many letters results in the frequent occurrence of the ^{amēl} with the following characters missing. Here and there a restoration might be ventured from the connection; but this has not been attempted in the index. Many are but partially effaced, and when the restoration of such seems safe, it has been given in the index, with properly bracketed parts. But many occur that do not suggest to me any known official, yet are comparatively little damaged. It has been deemed advisable to append an autographed page of these damaged words. The uncertain phrases mentioned above and the autographed plate will appear in a subsequent number of this *Journal*.

It has not been deemed advisable to attempt any association or grouping of terms in the index, except where the facts are well established. The "messenger," or "courier," for instance, is indicated by a variety of phrases, already well known. But we may have in our data various terms for some other office; *e. g.*, *rab ali* and *hazanu* might be interchangeable. It has been decided that the index should merely give the data, and leave the discussion of such points to the excursus. On the other hand, it is not intended that an excursus shall be limited in its discussions to the data given in this index. Any attempt to comprehend more clearly the institutions of ancient Assyria and Babylonia must consider something more than the epistolary literature. This work would be facilitated if similar compilations were accessible for other bodies of the cuneiform literature; and it is to be hoped such may be eventually available. As to the actual range of excursus upon various functionaries, it is clear to any student

of the cuneiform records that such may involve the whole field of Assyrian and Babylonian linguistic, scientific, historical, religious, civil, and social development.

The custom, very generally followed hitherto, of indicating ideographic or Sumerian expressions by capitals has been abandoned. While helpful to the young student, it does not seem necessary for those who are likely to avail themselves of this index. Each form of the term has been given in transliteration; the various spellings, and the occurrences with pronominal suffixes, that the lexicographers and grammarians may find their tasks facilitated. But few of the functionaries are of a character that render possessive suffixes probable in the letters. The "courier" shows more variety of terms, and more occurrences with suffixes than any other: almost as many as all others combined; and I have questioned if this list were worth the space, since we already know what may be expected of the average courier or messenger.

In the transliteration, effort has been made to indicate clearly how each spelling is written. The capital catch-word endeavors, where possible, to be phonetically accurate; in detailing the citations, I have intended to suggest the syllables used. Thus, under *amēl Itū'a*, the scribe has choice of two characters for the syllable *tu*: the ordinary *ud*, and the heavier *tu*, which I have uniformly marked *tū*, where occurring.

A few other terms, fairly well understood, have been included in the index: such as *paršumu*, *ḫiālu*, *šēbu*, *ummānu*, *agrūtū*. Their occurrence is not frequent, and investigation produced reason to suspect a particular technical sense in some of them.

amēl TURTĀNU, TARTĀNU: *amēl tur-tan*, [205] K. 537, rv. 6, [571] K. 998, obv. 11; *amēl tur-tan-nu*, [682] K. 508, obv. 8; *amēl tur-tan-ni*, [649] 81-2-4, 110, obv. 4, rv. 3, [373] 82-5-22, 99, obv. 8, [428] 83-1-18, 25, rv. 2, [684] 80-7-19, 37, rv. 3; *amēl tur-ta-nu*, [568] K. 956, rv. 13, [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, obv. 5; *amēl tur-ta-nu-šu*, [197] K. 181, rv. 1, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 8; *amēl tur-ta-nu II-u* (=šānū), [144] K. 194, obv. 13; *amēl tur-ta-ni*, [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, obv. 10; *amēl tar-ta-nu*, [393] 80-7-19, 25, rv. 8, [701] S. 1338, obv. 8.

amēl NĀGIRU: *amēl laḡar*, [281] K. 83, obv. 10, [576] K. 1009, obv. 9; *amēl laḡar ē-gal*, [112] K. 485, obv. 1, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 27, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 2, [781] K. 823, rv. 2; *amēl na-gi-ri*, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 16; *amēl nēr ē-gal*, [373] 82-5-22, 99, obv. 10, [785] K. 13142, obv. 5.

- amēl BĪ.LUL:** [322] K. 663, obv. 8; **amēl rab bi-lul**, [194] K. 665, rv. 4, [353] 82-5-22, 169, rv. 11, [373] 82-5-22, 99, obv. 12, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 10, [585] K. 1098, obv. 3, [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 6; **rab bi-lul**, [659] Bu. 89-4-26, 17, obv. 6; **amēl rab bi-**, [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 9.
- amēl MU, (NUĤATIMMU?):** [43] K. 122, rv. 1, 6, [322] K. 663, obv. 10; [754] K. 5457, obv. 18, [699] 81-2-4, 468, obv. 3(?); **amēl rab mu**, [274] K. 81 obv. 19, [357] S. 1368, obv. 9, [555] K. 677, obv. 5.
- amēl RAB.SE.GAR**, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 18.
- amēl RAB.GAR.MEŠ**, [43] K. 122, rv. 2, 18.
- amēl SE.GAR**, [43] K. 122, rv. 12.
- amēl RAB ŠĀḲŪ:** **amēl rab šak**, [64] K. 550, obv. 10, [96] K. 1151, obv. 6, [173] K. 686, obv. 5, [283] K. 597, obv. 1, [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 15, [568] K. 956, rv. 16, [709] 80-7-19, 67, obv. 3; **amēl rab ša-ki-e**, [353] 82-5-22, 169, rv. 9.
- amēl PATAR PARZILLI:** **amēl gir-an-bar**, [85] K. 613, rv. 7.
- amēl ZAKKŪ:** **amēl zak-ku-u**, [143] K. 584, obv. 6, [459] K. 1141, rv. 3; **amēl za-ku-u**, [311] K. 630, rv. 3, [633] K. 1366, obv. 17, [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 4.
- (amēl) ITU'A:** **amēl I-tu-'-u**, [138] K. 469, rv. 11; **amēl I-tu-u**, [506] K. 678, rv. 15; **amēl I-tu-'**, [572] K. 1001, obv. 10, [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 22; **amēl I-tú-'-a-a**, [201] K. 690, obv. 5, [242] K. 11148, rv. 16, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 7, [419] 83-1-18, 24, obv. 10, 12; **amēl I-tú,**, [147] K. 1170, rv. 5; **amēl I-tú-'-š**, [506] K. 678, rv. 10; **amēl I-tu-a-a**, [424] S. 760, rv. 2, 10; **amēl I-tu-'-a-a-e-a**, [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 6; **amēl U-tu-'-a-a**, [349] Rm 78, rv. 3.
- amēl BA**, [645] Rm 2, 464, rv. 4.
- amēl ŠELAPPAAA**, [471] 80-7-19, 41, obv. 17.
- amēl PUR.KUL**, [429] Rm 69, obv. 9, [531] 81-2-4, 50, rv. 13.
- amēl BARŪ, amēl BARŪTU:** **amēl ḥal**, [773] S. 152, obv. 7, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 6, [854] K. 1158, rv. 10, [391] 83-1-18, 2, obv. 18(?); **amēl ḥal-meš**, [33] K. 572, obv. 6; **amēl ḥal-u-tu**, [755] 83-1-18, 122, rv. 18.
- amēl MAŠMAŠU:** **amēl maš-maš**, [23] K. 602, obv. 21, [24] K. 626, obv. 11, 14, rv. 5, [167] K. 582, rv. 16, [361] 81-2-4, 58, rv. 10, [670] K. 12, rv. 10; **amēl maš-maš-meš**, [1] K. 167, rv. 8, [33] K. 572, obv. 7, [118] K. 1026, rv. 5.
- amēl MAḤḤŪ:** **amēl maḥ**, [205] K. 537, rv. 4, [466] S. 51, rv. 4; **amēl maḥ-meš**, [90] K. 594, obv. 13, [205] K. 537, obv. 3, 14, rv. 1, [252] K. 525, obv. 4, rv. 13, [306] K. 622, obv. 3, 14, [680] 83-1-18, 63, obv. 8; **amēl maḥ-meš-ni**, [196] K. 125, obv. 8, 13, [252] K. 525, rv. 7, 15.
- (amēl) MUKÎL APPÂTE:** **amēl mu-kil** ^{su} **pa-meš**, [65] K. 629, obv. 21, [211] K. 662, obv. 4, [445] K. 724, obv. 7, [568] K. 966, rv. 20, [611] K. 1143, obv. 2; ^{su} **pa-meš**, [609] K. 1140, obv. 4, rv. 7; **amēl mu-kil** ^{su} **a-pa-a-ni**, [633] K. 1366, rv. 21.
- amēl MURIBBĀNU**, [458] K. 1122, obv. 6.

- amēl RÊ'Ū: amēl sib, [639] K. 8390, obv. 10, [716] K. 31, rv. 9, [726] 80-7-19, 24, obv. 7, 12 [727] 83-1-18, 67, obv. 7, [845] K. 671, obv. 10. amēl sib-meš, [75] K. 546, obv. 9, [268] K. 514, obv. 11, rv. 6, [633] K. 1366, rv. 13, [639] K. 8390, rv. 1.
- amēl RAB.SIB.MEŠ, [336] K. 644, rv. 5.
- amēl ŠA ĦUTARI, [445] K. 724, obv. 3.
- amēl UŠ.KIB.SI: amēl uš kib-si-a-ni, [526] K. 628, rv. 2.
- amēl ŠA ELI ALI, [90] K. 594, rv. 13, [710] 81-2-4, 87, obv. 6; amēl ša muḫ-ḫi ali, [530] 80-7-19, 40, obv. 13.
- amēl ŠA ELI BÎTI, [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 9; amēl ša eli bîti ša bit-ḫal, [577] K. 1010, obv. 6; amēl ša eli bît-a-nu, [855] K. 1226, obv. 1; amēl ša eli bît-a-ni, [568] K. 956, rv. 18.
- amēl RAB ẸAẸULÂTE: amēl rab Ẹa-Ẹu-la-te, [152] K. 1101 + K. 1221, obv. 8.
- amēl ẸĒPU: amēl til-la gid-da-meš, [542] K. 114, obv. 8; amēl ni-gab, [847] 83-1-18, 115, rv. 5; amēl ki-pa-nu, [542] K. 114, obv. 17; amēl ki-pa-ni-šu, [524] K. 588, obv. 10; amēl ki-pi, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 1; Ẹi-pi, [95] K. 1151, rv. 7; amēl ki-i-pi, [214] K. 831, rv. 14; amēl Ẹi-ḫ-pu, [88] K. 507, obv. 7, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 28, [703] K. 8989, obv. 5, [868] 81-2-4, 119, obv. 5; amēl Ẹi-pu, [703] K. 8989, obv. 9; amēl Ẹi-ḫ-pi, [169] K. 997, obv. 8; amēl Ẹi-ba-a-ni, [442] K. 543, obv. 14; amēl Ẹi-pa-a-ni, [437] K. 168, rv. 9.
- amēl RAB ĦALŠU: amēl rab al ḫal-ḡu, [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 3.
- amēl RAB URÂTE: amēl rab u-ra-te, [630] K. 1264, obv. 13.
- amēl KA.TIN(?), ẸATINNU(?): amēl Ẹa-tin-ni šarri, 74] K. 185, obv. 11.
- amēl SUKALLU: amēl luḫ, [70] K. 1070, obv. 1, 4, rv. 4, [132] K. 655, obv. 1, 3, 5, rv. 10, [235] K. 13016, obv. 1, 3, rv. 5, [253] K. 1175 + 1207, obv. 8(?), [424] S. 760, obv. 12, rv. 12, [473] 81-2-4, 65, rv. 11, [505] 81-2-4, 95, obv. 1, 3, 4, 6, [716] K. 31, rv. 11, [748] K. 5474, obv. 2, [781] K. 823, obv. 2, 4, 5, rv. 7, [805] S. 267, obv. 2, 5, (10?), 12, [874] Bu. 89-4-26, 31, obv. 12, [844] K. 986, obv. 2, 9; amēl luḫ dan-nu, [568] K. 956, rv. 12; amēl luḫ II-u (= šanṭ), [568] K. 956, rv. 15.
- amēl SARTÎNU: amēl sa-ar-te-nu, [716] K. 31, rv. 11, 15, 27; amēl sar-tin-nu, [46] K. 939a, rv. 14, [568] K. 956, rv. 14; amēl sar-tin-ni, [441] K. 534, obv. 18.
- amēl RAB DAN.DAN (KAL.LAB?): amēl rab dan-dan-meš, [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 5.
- amēl MAŠŠARU: amēl en-nun, [197] K. 181, rv. 7, 23; amēl en-nun bîti ili, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 11; amēl ša en-nun, [99] K. 5466, rv. 17, [353] 82-5-22, 169, rv. 19, [410] Rm 2, 4, obv. 5, rv. 9, 13; en-en-nun, [238] K. 1107, rv. 5.
- amēl RAB ĦANŠÂ: amēl rab L, [251] K. 506, obv. 4, 15, 20, 27, rv. 5, 7.
- amēl RAB ŠITIRTE(?): amēl rab u-te, [432] D. T. 220, obv. 2, [816] K. 88, obv. 3; amēl rab u-ti, [423] 83-1-18, 12, obv. 3, [829] K. 297, obv. 3; amēl rab u-ḡi (error for te), [671] K. 678, obv. 3; amēl rab u-meš-te, [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 5.

- amēl RAB KARMANI: amēl rab kar-man, [43] K. 122, obv. 18;
 amēl gar-man(?) - meš, [155] K. 1235, obv. 4, 7.
- amēl RAB KARANI: amēl rab geštin, [42] K. 14, rv. 11.
- amēl RAB KÂRI: amēl rab ka-a-ri, [467] S. 456, rv. 18.
- amēl MANZAZ PÂNI: amēl man-za-az pâni-ia, [291] K. 828, obv. 14; amēl man-za-az pa-ni, [540] K. 87, obv. 7; amēl ma-za-si pa-ni, [656] 82-5-22, 168, rv. 8; amēl gub-ba pa-ni-ia, [289] K. 312, obv. 10; amēl gub-ba pa-ni-šu, [415] Bu. 91-5-9, 157, rv. 10.
- amēl ABARAKKU, or TUKULTU: amēl ši-um, [63] K. 549, obv. 8, [75] K. 546, obv. 6, [84] K. 117, obv. 9, [89] K. 515, obv. 7, [114] K. 538, obv. 15, rv. 6, [145] K. 910, obv. 1, [273] K. 578, obv. 6, [393] 80-7-19, 25, obv. 10, rv. 3, [543] K. 176, rv. 9, [633] K. 1366, rv. 15, [639] K. 8390, rv. 12; amēl uš ši-um, [867] 81-2-4, 94, rv. 4.
- amēl IRRIŠU: amēl apin, [4] K. 568, obv. 1, 3, 4, [15] K. 1197, obv. 1, [38] K. 1049, obv. 1, 3, 5, 7, [183] K. 113, obv. 1, 4, [167] K. 582, obv. 16, [223] K. 112, obv. 1, 18, rv. 10, [332] K. 13000, obv. 1, [361] 81-2-4, 58, obv. 1, 5, 7, [362] 83-1-18, 16, obv. 15, [735] 82-5-22, 135, obv. 1, [816] K. 88, obv. 1, 6; amēl apin-meš é-gal, [871] 82-5-22, 114, rv. 6; amēl ir-ri-še-é, [500] K. 1303, obv. 8.
- amēl NU.GIŠ.ŠAR (URĪIU?): amēl nu-giš-šar-meš, [182] K. 1058, obv. 4, [564] K. 937, rv. 4; amēl nu-giš ur-ki, [167] K. 582, obv. 15.
- amēl MALAĤU: amēl má-laḥ su bar-ra, [167] K. 582, obv. 14; amēl má-du-du-meš, [103] K. 1189, obv. 10.
- amēl UŠPARU; (EMĪTU?): amēl uš-par-meš, [209] K. 636, obv. 7; [413] Bu. 91-5-9, 12, rv. 8; [714] K. 1217, obv. 7; sa! uš-par-meš-te, [196] K. 125, obv. 24.
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- amēl BÊL PAĤĀTI, amēl PAĤĀTI: amēl en-nam, [32] K. 527, obv. 11, [43] K. 122, obv. 13, [59] K. 1041, obv. 7, [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, obv. 12, [89] K. 515, obv. 11, rv. 2, 10, [95] K. 1151, rv. 4, [102] K. 657, obv. 10, [112] K. 485, obv. 15, [129] K. 5458, rv. 9, [140] K. 518, obv. 7, rv. 1, 6, [151] K. 652, obv. 10, [179] K. 664, obv. 6, [190] K. 596, rv. 7, [197] K. 181, rv. 5, [198] K. 5464, rv. 1, [206] K. 539, rv. 8, [208] K. 617, obv. 7, [220] K. 1274, obv. 9, [266] K. 79, obv. 19, [311] K. 630, obv. 6, 8, [339] 83-1-18, 19, obv. 7, rv. 5, 13, [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 6, 13, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 9, 11, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 9, 10, [415] Bu. 91-5-9, 157, obv. 11, [421] 83-1-18, 6, obv. 12, [424] S. 760, obv. 9, [444] K. 645, obv. 6, [462] K. 1374, obv. 21, rv. 27, [486] K. 8375, obv. 4, 7, rv. 3, 9, 10, 15, [532] 83-1-18, 15, obv. 10, [543] K. 176, rv. 5, 6, [547] K. 587, rv. 8, [548] K. 593, obv. 8, [558] K. 896, rv. 4, 5, 7, 8, [564] K. 937, obv. 2, [615] K. 1153, obv. 5, [626] K. 1233, rv. 3, [633] K. 1366, rv. 3(?), 5, 27, [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, [754] K. 5457, obv. 5, 11, 12, [769] K. 1042, rv. 2, [771] 83-1-18, 49, rv. 7, [790] S. 1392, obv. 5, [808] K. 13090, obv. 1, [830] K. 1376, obv. 1, [845] K. 671, obv. 16, [846] K. 673, rv. 18, 21, [849] K. 580, rv. 5; amēl en-na[m], [49] K. 1168, rv. 6; amēl en-[nam], [131] K. 625, obv. 7; [205] K. 537, rv. 3; amēl en-nam-meš, [197] K. 181, obv. 11, [381] 81-2-4, 55, rv. 7, [444] K. 645, obv. 4, [506] K. 678, obv. 11, [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 5, 12, 14; amēl en-nam-meš-te, [197] K. 181, obv. 13, [198] K. 5464, obv. 16; amēl en-nam-meš-te-e-šu, [198] K. 5464, obv. 14; amēl en-nam-meš-šu, [197] K. 181, obv. 11; en-nam, [189] K. 1048, obv. 9, [221] K. 175, rv. 11; amēl nam, [190] K. 596, obv. 25, rv. 11, [671] K. 78, rv. 5, [839] 83-1-18, 21, rv. 15; amēl nam-meš, [148] K. 1907, rv. 1, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 15, [415] Bu. 91-5-9, 157, obv. 9, [464] K. 1519, rv. 3, [506] K. 678, obv. 12, [543] K. 176, obv. 12; amēl en-nam II-u, [424] S. 760, obv. 10.

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- amēl DAIĀLU:** amēl da-a-a-lu, [530] 80-7-19, 40, obv. 12; amēl da-a-a-li, [52] K. 80, rv. 3, 6, [309] K. 1021, obv. 6, [424] S. 760, obv. 7, [444] K. 645, rv. 4, [509] 81-2-4, 123, obv. 13; amēl da-a-a-li-ka, [148] K. 1907, obv. 3; amēl da-ia-a-li, [544] K. 464, obv. 17; (amēl)† da-a-a-la, [618] K. 1169, obv. 15; amēl da-a-a-li-ia, [769] K. 1042, obv. 4; amēl rab da-a-a-lu, [530] 80-7-19, 40, obv. 12; amēl rab da-a-a-li, [573] K. 1003, obv. 9, 13; amēl rab da-a-a-li-ia, [547] K. 587, rv. 6.
- amēl MUTTAGGIŠU:** amēl tin, [102] K. 657, obv. 4; amēl tin-meš, [253] K. 1175 + 1207, obv. 4, 11; amēl tin-meš-ni-ia, [253] K. 1175 + 1207, obv. 7; amēl rab tin-meš, [389] S. 1034, rv. 3.
- amēl DAIĀNU:** amēl di-tar, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 14; amēl da-a-a-nu, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 16, 20.
- amēl ZAMMERU:** amēl lul, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 10; amēl lul-meš, [210] K. 647, obv. 3, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 15, 22, 30, [599] K. 1124, rv. 5; amēl lul-meš-šu-nu, [599] K. 1124, obv. 9.
- amēl ĤAZANU (LAPUTTU†), amēl ĤAZANŪTU:** amēl nu-banda, [505] 81-2-4, 95, obv. 7; amēl ĥa-za-nu, [150] K. 598, obv. 3, [366] 82-5-22, 96, obv. 10, 16, [419] 83-1-18, 24, obv. 5, [445] K. 724, rv. 1, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 15, [551] K. 634, obv. 3, [573] K. 1003, obv. 9, [710] 81-2-4, 87, obv. 6, [812] 82-5-22, 93, obv. 3; amēl ĥa-za-nu ša bitī ilu Nabu, [65] K. 629, obv. 12; amēl ĥa-za-ni, [251] K. 506, obv. 5, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 9; amēl ĥa-za-nu-ti, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 6; amēl ĥa-za-na-te, [91] K. 620, obv. 12; amēl ĥa-za . . . (?), [528] K. 1065, obv. 10.
- amēl MUTIR TÊME:** amēl mu-tir ĥe-e-mu, [336] K. 644, obv. 4; amēl mu-tir (?), [265] K. 13100, obv. 5.
- amēl NANGARU:** amēl nagar-meš, [87] K. 466, obv. 6, rv. 7, [95] K. 1151, rv. 10; amēl nagar-meš-šu-nu, [475] 83-1-18, 3, obv. 10; amēl nagar, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 21.
- amēl NASĪKU:** amēl na-sik, [608] K. 1136, rv. 7; amēl na-sik-ku, [504] K. 1176, obv. 10; amēl na-si-ku, [280] K. 10, obv. 14, [520] K. 680, obv. 4, 14, rv. 16, [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 13; amēl na-si-ķ[u], [451] K. 924, rv. 10; amēl na-si-ka-a-ti, [280] K. 10, obv. 19, [831] K. 470, rv. 5; amēl na-si-ka-[a-ti], [622] K. 1210, rv. 4; amēl na-si , [210] K. 647, obv. 19.
- amēl NAPPAHU:** amēl simug ēkalli, [502] K. 661, rv. 2; amēl simug ĥurāši, [566] K. 942, obv. 18; amēl murub (for simug) ĥurāši, [551] K. 634, rv. 7, [812] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 9, [847] 83-1-18, 115, obv. 3.
- amēl PAĤARU:** amēl duk ka-bur, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 5, 7; amēl pa-ĥi-ru, (?) [166] K. 505, obv. 3.
- amēl PIRĤINU:** amēl pir-ĥi-nu, [90] K. 594, rv. 14, [533] 83-1-18, 44, obv. 3; amēl pir-ĥi-ni, [167] K. 582, rv. 17.

- amēl RAB ALĀNI:** amēl rab er, [424] S. 760, rv. 3; amēl rab er-meš, [784] K. 1031, obv. 15; amēl rab er-meš-te, [633] K. 1366, rv. 15, [778] 81-2-4, 75, rv. 10; amēl rab-meš gāl-meš, [253] K. 1175 + 1207, obv. 5, 13; amēl rab er-meš-šu, [252] K. 525, obv. 8; amēl rab er-meš-šu-nu, [424] S. 760, rv. 5; amēl rab er-meš ḫa-a-meš, [767] 83-1-18, 75, rv. 1; amēl rab er-meš mu-bu, [506] K. 678, rv. 5.
- amēl RAB ŪTE:** amēl gal-meš, [43] K. 122, obv. 7, 11, [126] K. 609, obv. 6, rv. 3, [174] K. 619, rv. 11, 14, [284] K. 599, obv. 8, 12, [327] K. 517, rv. 2, [328] K. 638, obv. 9, [441] K. 534, obv. 5, [451] K. 924, obv. 17, [460] K. 1250, obv. 3, [467] S. 456, obv. 6, [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 13, [523] K. 585, rv. 1, [532] 83-1-18, 15, rv. 7, [546] K. 557, obv. 6, [598] K. 1123, obv. 4, [633] K. 1366, obv. 16, [714] K. 1217, obv. 8, [804] K. 544, rv. 8, [867] 81-2-4, 94, rv. 7; amēl gal-meš-te, [639] K. 8390, rv. 11; amēl gal-[meš](?), [117] K. 991, rv. 7; amēl gal-gal-meš, [467] S. 456, rv. 14; amēl gal-meš-šu, [197] K. 181, obv. 28, rv. 12, [281] K. 13, rv. 7, [284] K. 599, obv. 12, [515] K. 621, rv. 7.
- amēl RAB BÎTI, amēl BÊL BÎTI, amēl BÎTI:** amēl gal-ê, [197] K. 181, rv. 27, [242] K. 11148, rv. 13, [243] K. 567, rv. 10, [281] K. 13, rv. 19, [414] Rm 77, rv. 3, [415] Bu. 91-5-9, 157, obv. 3, [579] K. 1043, obv. 8, [610] K. 1142, obv. 13, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 8, [784] K. 1031, obv. 10; amēl gal-ê-šu, [228] K. 1055, rv. 14; amēl gal-meš ša bitti, [67] K. 1050, rv. 1; amēl bitti, [327] K. 517, rv. 2; rab ša bit-meš = rab bitani(?), [221] K. 175, rv. 12.
- amēl RAB ÊKALLI or RAB MÂTI:** amēl gal-ê-gal, [99] K. 5466, rv. 11, [160] K. 1243, obv. 14, [512] K. 858, obv. 2; amēl gal-ê-g[al](?), [774] Bu. 88-4-26, 162, rv. 13; amēl rab mâti (gal-kur), [512] K. 858, obv. 7; . . . gal-ê-gal, [99] K. 5466, obv. 9.
- amēl KALLŪ:** amēl kal-lu-u, [275] K. 82, obv. 9, rv. 11, 16; amēl kal-li-i, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, rv. 16; amēl rab kal-li-e, [414] Rm 77, obv. 6; amēl gal-la, [266] K. 79, rv. 2, 11, [805] S. 267, obv. 10; amēl ḫa-al-la-a, [852] K. 479, rv. 4; amēl mārê kal-lu-te, [563] K. 935, rv. 4; amēl ḫal-meš, [3] K. 492, obv. 11; amēl ḫal-meš-te, [232] K. 1059, obv. 7.
- amēl KALŪ:** amēl rab ka-li-i, [419] 83-1-18, 24, rv. 18; amēl uš-ku, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 10, [361] 81-2-4, 58, rv. 9.
- amēl UŠ.ḲATI:** amēl uš ḫa-ti, [90] K. 594, obv. 10.
- amēl ŠA ELI BÂBI, amēl RAB ABULLÊ:** amēl ša muḫ ká, [277] K. 1066, rv. 7; amēl gal ká-gal-meš, [493] 83-1-18, rv. 17.
- amēl ŠA PÂNI ÊKALLI:** amēl ša ši êkalli, [90] K. 594, obv. 11, rv. 4, 8, [287] K. 94, rv. 5, [328] K. 638, obv. 9, [329] K. 8383, obv. 10, [568] K. 956, rv. 17, [725] K. 12989, obv. 5, [733] 81-2-4, 113, obv. 4; amēl ša ši bitti, [875] Bu. 89-4-26, 71, obv. 8; amēl ša ši êkalli-meš, [377] 83-1-18, 43, obv. 14; amēl ša pa-ni êkalli, [202] K. 83, rv. 1, [270] K. 1089, obv. 5; amēl ša pa-an ê-ga[l], [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 8.

- amēl ŠAKU:** amēl sag, [1] K. 167, obv. 11, [158] K. 530, obv. 4, [190] K. 596, obv. 10, [220] K. 1274, rv. 8, [261] K. 563, rv. 1, [267] K. 462, rv. 12, [322] K. 663, obv. 11, [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 9, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, rv. 21, [448] K. 826, obv. 3, [527] K. 830, rv. 13, [565] K. 941, rv. 7, [623] K. 1212, obv. 2, [633] K. 1366, obv. 6, [638] K. 2908, obv. 4, rv. 4, [746] 83-1-18, 146, rv. 4, [841] K. 4757, obv. 7; amēl sag-ia, [304] K. 533, rv. 5, 7, [539] K. 17, rv. 13; amēl sag-šu, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 6, [547] K. 587, rv. 10, amēl sag-meš, [84] K. 117, obv. 7, [144] K. 194, obv. 5, 11, [336] K. 644, obv. 8, [532] 83-1-18, 15, obv. 4, [779] 83-1-18, 90, obv. 8; amēl sag-meš-ia, [138] K. 469, obv. 7, rv. 1; amēl sag-meš-šu, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 7; amēl sag-meš-ni, [322] K. 663, obv. 4, 12; amēl sag ša šarri, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 8; amēl sag šarri, [556] K. 683, rv. 17; amēl ša-ku, [276] K. 154, rv. 10, [326] K. 1249, obv. 8, [327] K. 517, rv. 11, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, obv. 23, rv. 12, [418] S. 1028, obv. 3, [542] K. 114, obv. 12, [853] K. 905, obv. 13; amēl ša-ku-meš, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 4; amēl ša-ku-u-ti, [238] K. 1107, obv. 9.
- ZIKRIT ÊKALLI:** sal é-gal, [99] K. 5466, obv. 8, [232] K. 1059, obv. 6, [233] K. 7339, obv. 6, [437] K. 168, obv. 9, 13, [568] K. 956, obv. 16, rv. 9, [633] K. 1366, obv. 16.
- KALLATU:** sal kál-la-ti, [263] K. 825, obv. 6; sal ka-al-la-a-te, [494] 80-7-19, 23, rv. 2.
- amēl PIḪITTU:** amēl pi-ḫit-ti, [12] K. 666, obv. 6; amēl pi-ḫi-ta-te, [779] 83-1-18, 90, obv. 9; amēl bēl pi-ḫit-te-ka-a, [573] K. 1003, obv. 7; amēl bēl pi-ḫit-ta-te-ia, [573] K. 1003, obv. 10; amēl bēl pi-ḫit-ta-a-te, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 14; amēl bēl pi-ḫit-ta-a-a-te-meš, [778] 81-2-4, 75, obv. 13; bēl pi-ḫ[it]-ti, [608] K. 1136, rv. 9; pi-ḫit-te, [658] 83-1-18, 81, obv. 9, [178] K. 482, rv. 1, [586] K. 1102, obv. 4; pi-ḫit-ti, [9] K. 618, obv. 6, [5] K. 583, obv. 10, [7] K. 601, obv. 4, [304] K. 583, obv. 7; pi-ḫi-te, [178] K. 482, obv. 8; pi-ḫid-di, [724] K. 548, rv. 9.
- amēl ŠA BITḪALLÂTI:** amēl bit-ḫal, [309] K. 1021, rv. 7; amēl ša bit-ḫal-la-ti, [138] K. 469, rv. 22; amēl ša bit-ḫal-meš, [159] K. 1025, obv. 4, [546] K. 557, obv. 7, 14, [174] K. 619, obv. 21, 25; amēl ša bit-ḫa[l-meš], [567] K. 946, obv. 15; amēl ša eli bīti ša bit-ḫal-[meš], [577] K. 1010, obv. 6.
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- amēl ARÎTU:** Ša ^{giš}a-ri-te al Mar-ḫu-ḫa-a-a, [251] K. 506, rv. 1.
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- amēl AŠ.SE,** [814] 81-7-27, 34, rv. 7.
- amēl Ê.BAR** ša il Šamaš, [262] K. 607, rv. 11.
- amēl IP.TÚ.GU.TÚ.RA,** [251] K. 506, rv. 9.
- amēl UMMÂNU:** amēl um-ma-nu, [172] K. 1052, obv. 5, [336] K. 644, obv. 8; amēl um-[ma-nu], [172] K. 1052, rv. 1; amēl um-me-a, [566] K. 942, rv. 4; amēl um-ma-ni, [452] K. 943, obv. 10, [629] K. 1263, obv. 19, [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 3.

- amēl ARĀMU: amēl a-ra-mu, [542] K. 114, obv. 15, [747] K. 923, obv. 4, 6; amēl a-ra-mi-šu, [542] K. 114, rv. 8.
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- amēl ĒRIB BÎTI, NIRIB BÎTI: amēl tú bīti, [475] 83-1-18, 3, obv. 7, [496] K. 474, obv. 14; amēl tú bīti ša bīti ili, [560] K. 906, rv. 2; amēl tú bīti ša il Šamši, [468] Rm 217, obv. 7; amēl tú bīti ša il Ninip, [493] 83-1-18, 13, obv. 12; amēl tú bīti ša il Ašur, [539] K. 17, rv. 14, [560] K. 906, rv. 2; amēl tú-meš bīti ša Dur-ilu, [401] 83-1-18, 30, obv. 3; . . . tú bīti meš, [748] K. 5474, obv. 5; amēl ša pāni ni-ri-bi, [875] Bu. 89-4-26, 71, obv. 7.
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- amēl ĤIĀLU: amēl ĥi-ia-lu, [272] K. 4736, rv. 3; amēl ĥa-a-lu . . . [849] K. 580, obv. 4, rv. 4?; amēl ĥi-ia-a-lu, [520] K. 680, obv. 7; amēl ĥi-a-lu, [804] K. 544, rv. 15; amēl ĥi-'-a-lu, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 18, 21; amēl ĥi-'-la-a-nu, [269] K. 528, obv. 8; amēl ĥi-ia-la-ni, [280] K. 10, obv. 22.
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- amēl NĀKISU: amēl na-ki-su-te, [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 11.
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- amēl PARITU: amēl pa-ri-ṭu, [812] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 16.
- amēl PARŠAMU: amēl par-šu-mu, [3] K. 492, rv. 3; amēl par-šu-me, [9] K. 618, obv. 15; amēl par-ša-mu-ti, [168] K. 63b, rv. 15; amēl par-ša-mu-te, [2] K. 183, obv. 16.
- amēl KAŠTI: amēl gis-ban-meš, [267] K. 462, obv. 14, rv. 13, [754] K. 5457, obv. 10, 28; niše ban, [617] K. 1167, obv. 10; niše gis-ban, [617] K. 1167, rv. 3.
- amēl KADŪ: amēl ka-di-e, [462] K. 1374, obv. 10.
- amēl KADIŠTU: amēl gig, [447] K. 821, rv. 13.
- amēl RAB ARDĀNI: amēl rab nitag-meš, [533] 83-1-18, 44, rv. 1, 12, 14, [633] K. 1366, rv. 15.
- amēl RAB TANĪBU: amēl rab ṭa-ni-be, [114] K. 538, rv. 1, [876] Bu. 91-5-9, 144, obv. 12, rv. 4.
- amēl RAB BIRTI: amēl rab bir-ti, [422] Rm 215, obv. 8.
- amēl ŠU.GAB.A.MEŠ, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 16; amēl rab ša amēl šu-gab-a-meš, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 6.
- amēl RAB.BIR, [221] K. 175, obv. 12.
- amēl RAŠŪ(?): amēl ra-ša-ni, [418] S. 1028, rv. 6; amēl ra-ša-a-ni, [518] 83-1-18, 27, rv. 7.
- amēl RAB PILKĀNU: amēl rab pil-ka-ni, [91] K. 620, obv. 14, rv. 4; rab pil-ka-ni, [512] K. 858, obv. 4.
- amēl RADIĀNU, [102] K. 657, obv. 9, rv. 11.
- amēl RIDŪ: amēl ri-di-ia, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 11, rv. 8; amēl ri-di-ia-a-meš. [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 10; amēl ri-di- . . . , *ibid.*, obv. 13.
- amēl ŠĒBU, ŠIBŪTU: amēl šī-bu-u, [790] S. 1392, rv. 4; amēl šī-bu-tu, [202] K. 83, rv. 15, [210] K. 647, obv. 2, [576] K. 1009, obv. 2, rv. 9, [753] 82-5-2, 111, obv. 6.
- amēl ŠIḪLU (ŠI'LU?): amēl šī-iḫ-lu, [154] K. 653, rv. 8.
- amēl ŠAMALLŪ: amēl šagan-lal-meš, [65] K. 629, rv. 6.
- amēl ŠA SA GA TE, [167] K. 582, obv. 17.
- amēl ŠĪMU: amēl šam-meš, [99] K. 5466, rv. 12; tur-meš šam-meš, [99] K. 5466, rv. 10; amēl meš šam-meš, [99] K. 5466, obv. 11.
- amēl ŠA ŠAPTI, or ZIKNI(?): amēl ša sū-meš, [144] K. 194, obv. 11

- amel ŠARNUPPU: amel ša-ár-nu-up-pu, [281] K. 13, rv. 12, 15, 18.
 amel ŠATAMMU: amel šà-tam, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 15, [437] K. 168, obv. 6, 24, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 28, rv. 9, 13; amel šà-tam-meš, [437] K. 168, rv. 8; amel šà-tam-u-ti, [437] K. 168, rv. 15.
 amel TARGUMÂNU: amel tar-gu-ma-nu, [387] S. 1045, rv. 5.
 amel TARBIÂNU: amel tar-bi-a-ni, [127] K. 616, rv. 4.
 amel TIK.EN.NA: amel tik-en-na, [327] K. 517, obv. 2, [328] K. 638, obv. 2, [344] 83-1-18, 28, obv. 2, [438] K. 177, rv. 11, [447] K. 821, obv. 8, [540] K. 87, obv. 11, [542] K. 114, obv. 11; amel tik-en-na-meš, [540] K. 87, obv. 4.

GEOGRAPHICAL LIST TO R. F. HARPER'S "ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LETTERS," VOLS. I-VIII.

By O. A. TOFFTEEN,
The University of Chicago.

The following list of references was prepared for my *Geography of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, which will be published this summer.

The references are complete with the exception of a few mutilated names, of which only a few restorations have been made.

The importance of the letter literature for Assyrian and Babylonian geography can hardly be overestimated. Quite frequently these letters furnish us the correct reading of names, incorrectly or ideographically written in the historical inscriptions. More often exact identifications of the localities are possible by means of these letters—this applies especially to the cities of Zamua and southern Nairi, the Kaširi district, and the cities of Assyria itself. The inscriptional Kaldea is no longer the equivalent of Babylonia or Karduniaš, but is, with all its bitati, only a narrow strip of land on the border of ^{nar} Marratim.

Several new geographical names, especially in Urartu and Manna, are offered us in the Letters.

The existence of the land of Kūsi, the old kingdom of Kašši of the Amarna letters, located in Mesopotamia on the lower Balix, is placed beyond doubt by these letters, and is perhaps the most important fact, from a historical point of view, for those who are interested in the history of Ancient Assyria and Mesopotamia, especially in the Amarna period.

Further comment on these names must at present be reserved for my forthcoming work.

- mat AI: [107] K. 4304, obv. 8, [159] K. 1025, obv. 7, [494] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, 21, [556] K. 683, obv. 21, [638] K. 2908, obv. 6, [713] R^m 59, obv. 5; amel mat Ai, [128] K. 650, obv. 5, [173] K. 619, rv. 12.
al A.BA.AI: [509] 81-2-4, 123, obv. 7; amel Ab-ai, [211] K. 662, rv. 2; mat Ab-b[u-], [642] K. 12046, obv. 5.
al A.B.DU.DI: [158] K. 530, obv. 7.
al A.BA.ALI: [424] Sm. 760, obv. 13; al mat Ab-ili, [413] Bu. 91-5-9, 12, rv. 11.

- mat A.BI.EL.TÚ: [716] K. 31, rv. 3; mat A-bi-el-ti, [716] K. 31, obv. 27.
- nar A.BA.NI: [781] K. 823, rv. 5.
- al Ú.BA.SI.E: [433] 79-7-8, 138, obv. 5, [626] K. 1233, rv. 7.
- mat E.BIR.NĀRI: [706] K. 1076, rv. 3.
- al MA.DAK.TÚ: [281] K. 13, obv. 23, [285] K. 1926, rv. 11, 12; al Ma-dak-ti, [281] K. 13, obv. 7.
- al A.DI.A: [683] Rm 550, rv. 6.
- al A.DI.I[N.NU]: [500] K. 1303, obv. 6.
- al A.DA.RA.ĤI.TI: [771] 81-1-18, 49, obv. 8.
- al E.ZI.AD: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 1.
- mat I.ZAL.LI: [644] Rm 2, 461, obv. 5.
- al A.ZA.RI: [635] K. 1516, rv. 8.
- mat Ú.KA.AI: [145] K. 910, obv. 4, [198] K. 5464, rv. 12, 15, [380] Rm 2, 3, rv. 1, [444] K. 645, obv. 8, [619] K. 1182, obv. 9; mat U-ka-ai, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 10; mat Uk-ka-ai, [197] K. 181, obv. 8, 20.
- amel UK.KA.AI: [101] K. 561, obv. 7, 14, 17, rv. 1, 19, [104] K. 1195, obv. 5; mat U'-ka-ai, [490] K. 746, obv. 3.
- mat AKKAD^{ki}: [9] K. 618, rv. 5; [46] K. 939a, obv. 13, 19, 22, [50] K. 1242, rv. 2, [149] K. 540, obv. 9, [223] K. 112, obv. 13, [266] K. 79, obv. 10, [269] K. 528, rv. 9, [358] Rm 76, obv. 8, [437] K. 168, rv. 9, 19, [444] K. 645, obv. 4, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 7, [518] 83-1-18, 27, rv. 8, [539] K. 17, obv. 17, rv. 24, [540] K. 87, rv. 3, [542] K. 114, rv. 23, [622] K. 1210, rv. 4, [716] K. 31, obv. 7, rv. 7, [760] Rm 2, 7, obv. 6, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 11, 15, [841] K. 4757, rv. 19; mat Ak-ka-di-i, [7] K. 601, obv. 16, rv. 8, [435] Bu. 89-4-26, 161, rv. 10.
- al AK.KAD: [337] D. T. 98, obv. 6, 8, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 5, 7, 10, 13, rv. 4; al Ak-kad-e, [629] K. 1263, obv. 10; al Ak-ka-di, [46] K. 939a, obv. 8, 11, [594] K. 1118, rv. 2.
- al ÊKALLĀTE^{pl}: [99] K. 5466, rv. 59.
- al A.KI.MA.DI.E: [328] K. 638, rv. 21.
- nar I.KA.RU: [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 10.
- al AK.TA.LA: [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 5.
- mat Ú.LI.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 9.
- nar Ú.LA.AI: [281] K. 13, obv. 9.
- mat AL.ZI: [444] K. 645, obv. 10.
- al EL.IZ: [101] K. 561, obv. 19.
- al EL.IZ.ZA.DU: [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 12; al El-iz-za-da, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 6.
- mat 'L.I.E.A.ĤU: [520] K. 680, obv. 8.
- mat ELAMTU (=NUM.MA^{ki}): [38] K. 1049, rv. 3, [256] K. 1202, rv. 8, [266] K. 79, obv. 9, 10, 14, 16, rv. 5, 8, [267] K. 462, rv. 5, 7, 10, 14, [268] K. 514, obv. 19, [269] K. 523, obv. 13, [277] K. 1066, rv. 11, 12, [280] K. 10, obv. 9, rv. 7, 15, [281] K. 13, obv. 4, 17, rv. 11, [282] K. 524, obv. 9, rv. 19, 21, [283] K. 597, obv. 5, 9, [295] K. 1139, obv. 5, 10, [323] K. 638, obv. 14, 21, [405] 81-2-4, 63, rv. 10, 14, 19, [422] Rm 215,

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- obv. 5, [462] K. 1374, obv. 16 *bis*, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 19, [520] K. 680, rv. 15, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, [527] K. 830, rv. 8, [541] K. 97, obv. 6, [576] K. 1009, obv. 8, [588] K. 1105, obv. 3, [702] 81-2-4, 77, rv. 3, [736] K. 1030, obv. 9, 10, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 5, [764] 83-1-18, 162, rv. 3, [791] 83-1-18, 51, rv. 4, [792] 83-1-18, 52, obv. 9, 13, [793] 83-1-18, 79, obv. 7, 12, [794] 83-1-18, 150, obv. 7, 8, [799] K. 7299, obv. 7, rv. 1, [800] K. 7424, obv. 7, [831] K. 470, rv. 9, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 9, [863] K. 1196, obv. 5; *mat* Num^{ki}, [328] K. 638, obv. 10; *mat* Num-ma, [541] K. 97, rv. 7.
- amēl* ELAM [Num-ma]-ai: [140] K. 518, obv. 14; *amēl* E-la-ma-ai, [478] 83-1-18, 8, rv. 11.
- al* EL.EN.ZA.A: [139] K. 1067, obv. 7.
- mat* EL.LI.PA: [174] K. 619, obv. 9.
- al* Ū.LU.ŠI.A: [342] 79-7-8, 234, obv. 6.
- al* Ū.MAR: [112] K. 485, obv. 16.
- mat* A.MUR.RU.U: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 14, [629] K. 1263, obv. 21; *mat* Mar-tu^{ki}, [38] K. 1049, rv. 4, [337] D. T. 98, rv. 13, [407] 83-1-18, 40, rv. 2, [629] K. 1263, obv. 16, 17; *mat* Mar-tu, [137] K. 467, obv. 10, 14, [629] K. 1263, obv. 19, [679] 83-1-18, 61, obv. 9.
- amēl* MAR^{ki}: [137] K. 467, obv. 12.
- mat* AN.DI.A: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 2, rv. 3, [515] K. 621, obv. 5.
- al* A.NI.SU: [173] K. 686, obv. 6, 8.
- al* I.SA.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 15, 19, [63] K. 549, obv. 11, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 17, [585] K. 1098, obv. 7.
- al* Ū.PI.A: [89] K. 515, obv. 12, rv. 7; *al* Ū-pi-i, [608] K. 1136, rv. 7; *al* Ū-pi-ia, [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 10.
- šad* UP.PA.AI: [88] K. 507, rv. 4.
- al* AP.PI.NA: [343] 83-1-18, 18, obv. 4, 12.
- al* Ū.ÇUR.¹¹ADAD: [763] 81-2-4, 126, rv. 4.
- UR[=ŠEŠ.URU^{ki}]: [38] K. 1049, rv. 5; *amēl* Šeš-uru^{ki}-ai, [753] 82-5-2, 111, obv. 7.
- al* Ū.RA: [490] K. 746, rv. 3.
- al* Ā.R.RI, [376] 83-1-18, 42, obv. 11.
- mat* A.RA.BU: [539] K. 17, obv. 18; *amēl* A-ra-bu, [262] K. 607, obv. 10; *mat* A-ri-bi, [629] K. 1263, rv. 1; *mat* Ar-ba-ai, [631] K. 1265, obv. 3, 7; *amēl* Ar-a-bi, [260] K. 562, obv. 10.
- al* ARRAP.ĤA: [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, rv. 2, [89] K. 515, obv. 12, rv. 2, 12, [95] K. 1151, obv. 9, rv. 4, [160] K. 1243, obv. 5, [168] K. 63b, obv. 7, 9, [306] K. 622, rv. 3, 7, [311] K. 630, obv. 7, 8, [375] 83-1-18, 41, obv. 9, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 13, [408] R^m 2, 1, obv. 11, rv. 26, [415] Bu. 91-5-9, 157, obv. 9, [486] K. 8375, obv. 7, rv. 4, 9, [505] 81-2-4, 95, obv. 9, [543] K. 176, rv. 6, [682] K. 608, rv. 3; *al* Arrap-ĥa-ai, [599] K. 1124, rv. 3; *amēl* Arrap-ĥa-ai, [140] K. 518, obv. 16; *al* Arab-ra-ap-ĥa, [151] K. 652, obv. 11; *mat* Ar-rap-ĥa, [754] K. 5457, obv. 11.
- al* ARBA.ILI: [43] K. 122, obv. 21, [64] K. 550, obv. 14, [179] K. 664, obv. 7, [212] K. 1199, obv. 10, [333] K. 651, obv. 6, [339] 83-1-18, 19, rv. 6, [358] R^m 76, obv. 5, [378] 83-1-18, 11, obv. 5, [413] Bu. 91-5-9,

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- ^{al} AR.GA.DA: [581] K. 1072, obv. 5.
- ^{al} IR.GI.DU: [280] K. 10, obv. 11.
- ^{al} AR.GI.TE: [414] Rm 77, obv. 14.
- ERIDU (^{amel} NUN^{ki}).Ú.A: [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 9.
- ^{šad} AR.ZA.BI.IA.A: [198] K. 5464, rv. 12, 16.
- ^{amel al} AR.ZI.ZA.AI: [317] K. 5291, obv. 13, rv. 3.
- ^{al} AR.ZU.ĪI.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 20, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 5, [638] K. 2908, rv. 5.
- ^{al} UR.ZU.ĪI.NA: [192] K. 146, obv. 7, [306] K. 622, obv. 7, 22, [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 8, 18, 23, rv. 8, 31, [529] K. 1252a, obv. 8, rv. 2, 15; ^{al} Ur-zu-ġi-na-ai, [599] K. 1124, rv. 2.
- ^{al} UR.IA.KU: [645] Rm 2, 464, obv. 13, [713] Rm 59, obv. 7; ^{al} Ur-ja-ak-ai, [713] Rm 59, obv. 12.
- URUK^{ki}: [202] K. 83, rv. 4, [266] K. 79, rv. 3, 11, [267] K. 462, obv. 14, [274] K. 81, obv. 20, rv. 3, 6, [451] K. 924, obv. 12, 13, [469] 48-11-4, 282, obv. 13, 16, rv. 7, 13, [472] 80-7-19, 46, obv. 5, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 18, 29, rv. 3, [572] K. 1001, obv. 9, [589] K. 1106, rv. 4, [622] K. 1210, rv. 3, [747] K. 923, obv. 7, [751] Sm. 920, obv. 3, 5, [752] Rm 48, obv. 2, 4, [753] 82-5-2, 111, obv. 3, 4, rv. 3, 11, [754] K. 5457, obv. 2, 3, [755] 83-1-18, 122, obv. 2, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 2, 4, 7, 8, rv. 4, 9, 22, [831] K. 470, rv. 13, [866] 81-2-4, 93, obv. 3, 12; Uruk^{ki}-ai, [754] K. 5457, obv. 10, 27; ^{al} Ū-ru-uk, [314] K. 1227, obv. 9; Uruk, [247] K. 1027, obv. 8; ^{amel} Uruk^{ki} ^{pl}, [296] K. 1162, obv. 2, [297] K. 1271, obv. 2, [518] 83-1-18, 27, obv. 2; ^{amel al} Uruk^{ki}-ai, [70] K. 1070, obv. 6, [753] 82-5-2, 11, rv. 3; ^{amel} Uruk^{ki}-ai, [210] K. 647, rv. 13, [277] K. 4736, rv. 4, 6, [472] 80-7-19, 46, obv. 6, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 6, [527] K. 830, rv. 9, [589] K. 1106, rv. 7, [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 3, 11, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 2, 4.
- ^{al} A.RA.AK.DI: [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 20, rv. 9.
- ^{šad} A.RA.LIM: [202] K. 83, obv. 13.
- ^{mat} A.RA.MU: [539] K. 17, obv. 18.
- ^{amel} A.RA.MU: [747] K. 923, obv. 4.
- ^{mat} ÀR.MIR.A.LI.A: [444] K. 645, obv. 11.
- ^{al} ÀR.NU[.]: [321] K. 14093, obv. 4.
- ^{al} ÀR.RA.NU: [502] K. 661, obv. 11, 14.
- ^{mat} A.RA.PI: [202] K. 83, obv. 13; ^{mat} Ar-pa-ai, [547] K. 587, rv. 10.
- ^{al} AR.PAD.DU: [601] K. 1126, obv. 10; ^{al} Ar-pad-da, [43] K. 122, obv. 16, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 13, [395] Bu. 91-5-9, 136, obv. 9; ^{mat} Ar-pad-dá, [221] K. 175, obv. 13.

- mat** Ū.RA.AR.ṬA.AI: [123] K. 574, obv. 6; **mat** Urarṭu, [101] K. 561, obv. 8, [112] K. 485, obv. 8, rv. 6, [145] K. 910, obv. 5, [146] K. 1080, obv. 6, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, [544] K. 464, rv. 2, [596] K. 1120, obv. 5, [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 3; **mat** Urarṭa-a, [251] K. 506, obv. 9; **mat** Urarṭa-ai, [139] K. 1067, obv. 9, rv. 9, [144] K. 194, obv. 7, [146] K. 1080, obv. 7, 8, 10, [205] K. 537, obv. 5, [215] K. 1037, obv. 3, [252] K. 525, obv. 9, [306] K. 622, obv. 4, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 5, rv. 4, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 5, [424] Sm. 760, obv. 6, [515] K. 621, obv. 4, [548] K. 593, obv. 6; **amel mat** Urarṭa-ai, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 5.
- mat** Ū.ŠŪ.Ū: [800] K. 7424, obv. 8.
- al amel** ŪŠ.ḪA.AI: [248] K. 669, obv. 4.
- al** AŠ.ŠA: [530] 80-7-19, 40, obv. 8.
- al** IŠ.ḪI.A: [136] K. 631, obv. 6, [191] K. 623, obv. 4, [526] K. 628, obv. 4.
- al** IŠ.RAM.NI: [571] K. 998, rv. 18.
- mat** AŠŠUR^{ki}: [19] K. 494, rv. 9, [58] K. 1033, rv. 7; [92] K. 656, obv. 6, [146] K. 910, obv. 6, 7, [196] K. 125, obv. 4, [197] K. 181, obv. 4, [198] K. 5464, obv. 12, 17, [199] K. 7434, obv. 4, [280] K. 10, rv. 4, [281] K. 13, obv. 28, [327] K. 517, obv. 12, 17, rv. 19, [328] K. 638, obv. 13, [358] Rm 76, obv. 8, [397] Rm 2, 458, obv. 6, [409] Rm 2, 2, rv. 8, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 7, [436] K. 145, obv. 11, rv. 5, [437] K. 168, obv. 7, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 18, [515] K. 621, obv. 10, rv. 9, [521] 83-1-18, 4, obv. 27, [568] K. 956, obv. 4, [576] K. 1009, obv. 16, 19, rv. 17, 19, [614] K. 1152, rv. 3, 7, [718] Bu. 91-5-9, 87, rv. 11, 12, [730] Rm 2, 14, obv. 3, [731] 81-7-27, 41, obv. 4, [789] K. 1964, obv. 6, [792] 83-1-18, 52, obv. 10, 14, [815] 48-7-20, 116, obv. 5, 13, rv. 13, 15; **mat ilu** Aššur^{ki}, [7] K. 601, obv. 15, rv. 7; **amel mat ilu** Aššur^{ki} ^{pl}, [262] K. 607, obv. 7; **mat** An-šár^{ki}, [9] K. 618, rv. 4, [588] K. 1105, obv. 4, [752] Rm 48, rv. 21; Aš^{ki}, [336] K. 644, rv. 8; **mat ilu** Aššur, [2] K. 183, obv. 6; **amel mat ilu** Aššur ^{pl}, [262] K. 607, obv. 7; **mat** An-šár^{ki}, [266] K. 79, obv. 13; **mat** An-šár, [10] K. 641, obv. 1; An-šár^{ki} ^{pl}, [290] K. 828, rv. 15; **mat** Aš, [308] K. 1619B, rv. 7; **mat** Aššur, [276] K. 154, obv. 8, [308] K. 1619B, rv. 4, [541] K. 97, obv. 4, [544] K. 464, rv. 3, [595] K. 1119, rv. 2, 3, 7, [616] K. 1164, obv. 3, [638] K. 2908, obv. 12, [870] 82-5-22, 107, obv. 9, rv. 3; **mat** Aššur-ai, [602] K. 1127, obv. 3, 10; **amel** Aššur^{ki}-ai, [460] K. 1250, rv. 1, [520] K. 680, obv. 5; **amel** Aššur-ai, [271] K. 1220, obv. 10; [**amel**] Áš-šú-ra-ai, [74] K. 185, obv. 9.
- al** AŠŠUR, [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 14; **al** Šár, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 3, 5; **al** Lib-er, [48] K. 1019, obv. 5, [88] K. 507, obv. 8, [91] K. 620, obv. 11, rv. 2, [92] K. 656, obv. 5, [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, obv. 8, 10, [106] K. 1209, rv. 6, [150] K. 598, obv. 3, [307] K. 1078, rv. 7, [308] K. 1619B, obv. 2, [365] Bu. 91-5-9, 14, obv. 12, [397] Rm 2, 458, obv. 5, [419] 83-1-18, 24, obv. 13, rv. 3, [442] K. 543, obv. 10, 15, [464] K. 1519, rv. 7, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 17, [479] 83-1-18, 94, obv. 11, [562] K. 927, obv. 10, [615] K. 1153, obv. 8, [724] K. 548, rv. 12, [817] K. 184, obv. 8, [819] K. 716, obv. 8, [820] K. 720, obv. 8, [821] K. 792, rv. 5, [822] K.

- 802, rv. 2, [823] K. 1368, rv. 2, [824] K. 13116, rv. 2, [825] Rm 205, rv. 2, [826] 82-5-22, 37, rv. 2, [827] 83-1-18, 192, rv. 3, [828] Bu. 91-5-9, 6, rv. 2, [845] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 7; *m al* Lib-er, [211] K. 662, obv. 1; *al* Lib-er-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 11, [473] 81-2-4, 65, obv. 3, [812] 82-5-22, 93, rv. 3.
- mat* I.TA.AI: [467] Sm. 456, rv. 18; *mat* I-tu-', [830] K. 1376, obv. 10; *mat* I-tu'-ai, [95] K. 1151, rv. 3; *amel* I-tu'-ai, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 7, [419] 83-1-18, 24, obv. 10, 12; *amel* Ū-tu'-ai, [349] Rm 78, rv. 3.
- al* Ū.TU: [589] K. 1106, rv. 4.
- BÂBILI(KA.DINGIR.RA): [32] K. 527, rv. 9, [66] K. 1017, rv. 3, [119] K. 499, rv. 8, 11, [387] Sm. 1045, rv. 14, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 12, [464] K. 1519, obv. 4, rv. 9, [471] 80-7-19, 41, obv. 8, [502] K. 661, rv. 13, [522] K. 898, obv. 5, [572] K. 1001, obv. 8, [588] K. 1105, obv. 5, 11, [870] 82-5-22, 107, obv. 12; *maré* Ka-dingir-ra-ki, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 7, 9, [670] K. 12, obv. 9: *al* Ka-dingir-ra, [196] K. 125, obv. 15, [241] K. 1044, rv. 5, 16; *amel* *mar* Ka-dingir-ra, [438] K. 177, rv. 28, [608] K. 1136, rv. 3; Ka-dingir-ki, [23] K. 602, rv. 12, [180] K. 573, obv. 9, rv. 4, [338] 82-5-22, 98, obv. 13, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, obv. 23, rv. 2, [437] K. 168, obv. 7, [455] K. 999, rv. 11, [852] K. 479, rv. 5; *amel* *mar* Bâb-iliki, [315] K. 1402, obv. 12; *amel* Bâb-iliki *pl.*, [301] K. 84, obv. 1; *maré* Bâb-iliki, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 2; *al* Bâb-ili, [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 14; Bâb-ili, [113] K. 501, rv. 7, [167] K. 582, rv. 3; *amel* Ba-bi-la, [848] K. 508, rv. 1, 7; Din-Tir-ki, [202] K. 83, obv. 5, 16, rv. 18, [212] K. 679, obv. 24, [255] K. 552, obv. 12, [259] K. 509, obv. 9, 10, 13, [261] K. 563, obv. 10, [264] K. 1045, obv. 10, [313] K. 1081, obv. 4, [326] K. 1249, obv. 5, rv. 6, 13, [327] K. 517, rv. 11, [336] K. 644, obv. 15, rv. 12, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 2, 9, 21, [412] 48-7-20, 115, rv. 3, 11, 14, [418] Sm. 1028, obv. 3, 10, rv. 2, 8, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 7, [436] K. 145, obv. 5, rv. 1, [454] K. 961, rv. 14, [501] Bu. 91-5-9, 39, obv. 9, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 3, [571] K. 998, obv. 12, 18, rv. 1, [588] K. 1105, obv. 9, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 4, 7, 9, rv. 1, 7, [793] 83-1-18, 79, rv. 12, [804] K. 544, rv. 25, [807] Bu. 91-5-9, 90, obv. 5, 7, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7, 8, 12, [844] K. 986, obv. 7, 10, [846] K. 508, obv. 5, [865] K. 8389, obv. 9; *al* Din-Tir-ki [468] Rm 217, obv. 10, [780] K. 4734, obv. 14; *maré* Din-Tir-ki, [848] K. 508, obv. 8; *amel* Din-Tir-ki *pl.*, [210] K. 647, rv. 13, [283] K. 597, rv. 10, [301] K. 84, obv. 12, [403] Bu. 91-5-9, 210, obv. 2, 9, 21, [412] 48-7-20, 115, rv. 14, [571] K. 998, obv. 4, [702] 81-2-4, 77, rv. 1, [793] 83-1-18, 79, rv. 12, [807] Bu. 91-5-9, 90, obv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7, [844] K. 986, obv. 7; *amel* Din-Tir-ki *me*, [815] 48-7-20, 116, rv. 5; *amel* Din-Dir-ai, [811] Bu. 89-4-26, 63+81, obv. 7.
- al* BÂB Ê.ĶI: [89] K. 515, obv. 9, rv. 4, 12; *al* Bâb Ê-ka, [542] K. 114, obv. 13; *mat* Ê-ki-ai, [144] K. 194, rv. 4; Ê-ga, [542] K. 114, obv. 13; *amel* Ê-ki, [328] K. 683, obv. 10, 12, 13.
- mat* BA.BU.TA.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 8.

- māt BA.BI.TE:** [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 18.
amēl BE.ZU: [839] 83-1-18, 21, rv. 9.
al BÊL².E: [43] K. 122, obv. 15; **al Bêl².ili,** [843] K. 846, obv. 10, rv. 11.
al BU.LU.U: [705] 82-5-22, 109, rv. 16; **al Bu-lu-a,** [506] K. 678, obv. 11; **al Bu-li-ai,** [112] K. 485, rv. 4.
al amēl BÊL UT.RI: [444] K. 645, obv. 13.
nār BA.NĪ.TI: [327] K. 517, rv. 7; **nār Banī-ti,** [327] K. 517, rv. 9, 13.
al BA.ĪAR.RI: [552] K. 640, rv. 6.
māt NA.RI [.]: [225] K. 674, obv. 7.
māt BAR.ĪAL.ZA: [43] K. 122, obv. 13, 16, [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, rv. 1, [91] K. 4770, obv. 10, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 11, [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 13; **māt Bar-ġal-zi,** [421] 83-1-18, 6, obv. 13.
māt BAR.MA: [448] K. 826, obv. 9.
māt BAR.ŠŪ.NU: [448] K. 826, obv. 6.
BĀR.SĪP^{ki}: [313] K. 1081, obv. 4, [315] K. 1402, obv. 13, [320] K. 7473, obv. 6, [336] K. 644, obv. 15, rv. 3, [337] D. T. 98, obv. 7, [340] Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rv. 7, [349] Rm 78, obv. 4; **amēl Bār-sīp^{ki},** [349] Rm 78, obv. 11; **Bar-sip^{ki},** [345] 83-1-18, 39, obv. 6, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 8.
al BIR.TUM: [43] K. 122, obv. 20; **al Bi-ir-ti,** [462] K. 1374, rv. 13; **al Bir-te,** [311] K. 630, obv. 14, [314] K. 1227, obv. 4, [441] K. 534, obv. 7; **amēl Bir-ta-ai,** [262] K. 607, obv. 13; **al Bi-rat,** [88] K. 507, obv. 7, [138] K. 469, obv. 5, [431] Sm. 984, obv. 5.
māt BI.RA.TA.AI: [396] Sm. 1030, obv. 8.
al BIR.TI.ŠŪ.LA.NI: [459] K. 1141, rv. 5.
al BÎT = IM.BI.IA: [781] K. 823, obv. 10.
BÎT = AM.IA.TA.': [564] K. 937, obv. 9.
māt BÎT BA.AL.ZA: [637] K. 1888, obv. 5.
BÎT = A.MUK.A.NI: [275] K. 82, obv. 6, rv. 9, [279] K. 6941, obv. 8, 10; **Bit A-muk-kan-na,** [258] K. 615, obv. 10, rv. 3, 9; **amēl Bit = A-muk-a-nu,** [517] 82-5-22, 91, obv. 8.
māt BÎT AM.MAN.NA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 2.
al BÎT BU.NAK.KI: [799] K. 7299, obv. 9.
BÎT DA.BU.U.NI: [544] K. 464, obv. 15.
BÎT amēl DA.KU.RA.AI: [238] K. 1107, obv. 5; **māt Bit = Da-ku-ru,** [588] K. 1105, rv. 3; **al Bit = Da-ku-ru,** [336] K. 644, obv. 5, 16; **al Bit = Da-ku-ri,** [542] K. 114, obv. 9, 14, 15; **al Ša Bit = Da-ku-ru,** [436] K. 145, obv. 14.
BÎT DŪR.A.NI: [443] K. 579, obv. 7.
māt BÎT ZA.MA.NI: [245] K. 513, rv. 6, [757] Sm. 548 + Sm. 887, obv. 8.
BÎT ĦA.BAN: [242] K. 11148, obv. 10; **māt Bit Ħa-ban,** [312] K. 689, obv. 17.
al BÎT = ĦU.US.SA.AN.NI: [336] K. 644, rv. 6.
BÎT ĦI.RA.KI: [397] Rm 2, 458, obv. 3.
BÎT = IA.KI.NI: [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 14; **Bit = Ia-a-ki-ni,** [542] K. 114, obv. 12.

²Sign, Be.³Sign, En.

- ^{a1} BÎT m IA.RI [.]: [239] K. 5585, rv. 10.
 mât BÎT KI [.]: [144] K. 194, rv. 4.
 BÎT KIR.KI: [437] K. 168, obv. 18.
 BÎT MAR.DI.TI.E: [414] R^m 77, obv. 4.
 BÎT NA.AI.LU: [548] K. 1122, rv. 6.
 BÎT ŠA.LA.ME.E.NI: [437] K. 168, obv. 18.
 BÎT ŠA.ME: [480] K. 8402, obv. 7.
^{a1} BA.IT.TI: [326] K. 1249, rv. 3.
 mât GU.UB.LA.AI: [632] K. 1295, rv. 1.
^{a1} GU.ZA.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 21, [167] K. 582, obv. 8, 21, [545] K. 465, rv. 3, [575] K. 1005, obv. 11, [633] K. 1366, obv. 9, 18, rv. 6, [700] 83-1-18, 157, obv. 5.
^{a1} amēl GAL.DA.AI.LI: [573] K. 1003, obv. 9, 13.
^{a1} GAM.BU.LU: [269] K. 528, obv. 9, rv. 5; ^{a1} amēl mât Gam-bu-la-ai, [771] 83-1-18, 49, obv. 2; ^{a1} amēl Gam-bu-la-ai, [140] K. 578, rv. 4, [293] K. 1054, obv. 2, [846] K. 673, rv. 9, [862] K. 1056, rv. 4, 6.
^{a1} GU.MU.UM.NU: [616] K. 1164, obv. 4; ^{a1} Gu-mu-um-ni, [616] K. 1164, rv. 2.
 mât GA.MIR: [197] K. 181, obv. 9; mât Ga-mir-ra, [146] K. 1080, obv. 6, 9; ^{a1} amēl Ga-me-ra-ai, [112] K. 485, obv. 4.
^{a1} GA.NA.TA: [468] R^m 217, rv. 12.
^{a1} GAR.GA.MIŠ: [120] K. 1461, obv. 15, [317] K. 5291, obv. 13; ^{a1} Gar-ga-miš-ai, [186] K. 11, rv. 8; ^{a1} Ša Gar-ga-miš, [609] K. 1140, obv. 5.
 mât GU.RI.A.NI.A: [146] K. 1080, obv. 5.
 mât GU.RA.NAM.MU: [754] K. 5457, obv. 7; mât Gu-ra-nam-[mu], [754] K. 5457, obv. 15; ^{a1} amēl Gu-ra-nam-ma, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 7; ^{a1} amēl Gu-ra-nam-mu, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 17; ^{a1} amēl Gu-ra-nam-ma-ai, [794] 83-1-18, 150, rv. 5, [833] K. 982, obv. 7; ^{a1} amēl Gu-ra[-nam-ma-ai], [76] K. 555, obv. 9.
 nār DA.'NA: [312] K. 689, obv. 10.
^{a1} DAĤ.ER: [207] K. 541, obv. 9.
 mât DA.KĪN.NI: [641] K. 9389, obv. 5; ^{a1} amēl Da-i-ka-ni-e, [845] K. 508, obv. 4, rv. 2.
^{a1} DIL⁴.BA.AT^{ki}: [310] K. 610, rv. 7, 11; ^{a1} amēl Dil-bat^{ki} p^t, [326] K. 1249, obv. 10.
^{a1} amēl DA.MU.NU: [846] K. 673, rv. 9; ^{a1} amēl Da-mu-na-ai, [846] K. 673, rv. 4, [849] K. 580, obv. 12.
^{a1} DU.UM.MU.ĶU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 14; ^{a1} Du-um-ma-ak-ka, [849] K. 580, rv. 6.
^{a1} DI.MAŠ.KI: [158] K. 530, obv. 5; ^{a1} Di-maš-ka-ai, [193] K. 542, obv. 7; ^{a1} amēl Ša-imēri-šu, [307] K. 1078, obv. 3.
^{a1} DA.A.NA: [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 8.
^{a1} DA.NI.BA.NI: [506] K. 678, obv. 12.
 mât DA.IS: [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 6, [716] K. 81, obv. 19, [753] 82-5-2, 111, rv. 6, [804] K. 544, rv. 18.

⁴Sign, ki.

- mat DI.KU.KI.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 18; al Di-ku-ki-na, [724] K. 548, obv. 6.
- mat DA.RU: [438] K. 177, obv. 15; rv. 9.
- mat DI.RI: [308] K. 1619B, obv. 3; al Di-ru, [430] Rm 72, obv. 6; al Di-e-ru, [781] K. 823, rv. 11; al Di-e-ri, [775] Sm. 268a, rv. 14, [779] K. 7299, obv. 4, [868] 81-2-4, 119, obv. 6; al Di-ri, [140] K. 518, obv. 7, rv. 6, [157] K. 504, obv. 18, [449] K. 839, obv. 6, [800] K. 7424, obv. 4.
- al DÛRU: [505] 81-2-4, 95, obv. 8.
- DÛR.ILI^{ki}: [401] 83-1-18, 30, obv. 4, [412] 48-7-20, 115, obv. 15, [460] K. 1250, obv. 14, [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 12, 14, 21, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 8.
- al XV DÛR.A.NI: [147] K. 1170, rv. 11.
- al DÛR A.TA.NA.TE: [635] K. 1516, rv. 2, 4; al Dûr ša^l Atānā^{pl}-te, [408] Rm 2, 1, rv. 13.
- al DÛR ilu A.NU.NI.TI: [455] K. 999, rv. 7.
- al DÛR BÊL.ilu AI: [170] K. 1013, rv. 11, [455] K. 999, rv. 8.
- DÛR IA.KI.NI: [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 4; Dûr ša^m Ia-ki-na, [865] K. 8389, rv. 7; al Dûr Ia-ki-na-ai, [131] K. 625, rv. 4, [867] 81-2-4, 94, obv. 6.
- DÛR ŠÁ.^mMU.ŠE.ZIB: [685] 81-2-4, 96, rv. 1.
- DÛR ŠÁ al MÊ^{pl}.TUR.NA: [158] K. 530, obv. 16.
- al DÛR SA.ME.DI: [615] K. 1153, obv. 3, rv. 2.
- al DÛR ilu ŠAMAŠ: [147] K. 1170, rv. 6.
- al DÛR ^mŠAR.UKÎN: [138] K. 469, rv. 20, [154] K. 653, rv. 19, [232] K. 1059, obv. 8, [440] K. 493, obv. 12, [452] K. 943, rv. 20, [731] 81-7-27, 41, rv. 4, [813] K. 688, obv. 12, rv. 5, [845] K. 671, obv. 7; al Dûr^m Šar-ukîn-na, [122] K. 491, obv. 4; al Dûr Šar-ukîn, [107] K. 4304, rv. 3, [167] K. 582, obv. 5, [190] K. 596, rv. 1, [191] K. 623, obv. 5, 10, [433] 79-7-8, 138, rv. 10, [480] K. 8402, obv. 9, [538] K. 531, rv. 2, [709] 80-7-19, 67, rv. 3; al Dûr Šar-gi-na, [544] K. 464, rv. 8; al Dûr Šar-ru-ku, [339] 83-1-18, 19, obv. 7; al Dûr Šar-ru-ki, [588] K. 896, rv. 5, 9.
- al DÛR TA.LI.TI: [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 15, rv. 1, [635] K. 1516, rv. 5, 7.
- al DA.RA.A.TI: [222] K. 186, obv. 9, rv. 4, 10; al Da-ra-a-te, [222] K. 186, obv. 4; amel Da-ra-ta-ai, [222] K. 186, obv. 3.
- mat Û.A.ZA.E: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 10; mat Û-a-za-un, [197] K. 181, rv. 3.
- al Û.E.SI: [198] K. 5464, rv. 2, [380] Rm 2, 3, rv. 6, [444] K. 645, obv. 5, 14, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 9, [515] K. 621, obv. 7; al Û-ai-si, [198] K. 5464, obv. 27, 29; al U-a-si, [409] Rm 2, 2, obv. 9, 14..
- mat ZA.[. .]ME: [771] 81-1-18, 49, obv. 8.
- al ZAB.DA.NU: [280] K. 10, obv. 7, 8.
- al ZAB.BAN: [641] K. 9389, obv. 4; al Za-ban, [311] K. 630, obv. 10.
- al ZA.AD.DI: [522] K. 498, rv. 2.
- mat ZI.KI.RA.AI: [515] K. 621, obv. 6.
- mat ZI-KIR-TA-AI: [198] K. 5464, obv. 25, [215] K. 1037, rv. 6; amel Zî-kir-ta-ai, [205] K. 537, obv. 4, 6, 9.

- māt ZI-KI-TI-A: [515] K. 621, obv. 15.
 māt ZA.LI.PA.AI: [165] K. 497, obv. 6, rv. 10.
 māt ZA.MU.A: [684] 80-7-19, 37, rv. 5; māt Za-mu-u, [311] K. 690, rv. 4, [582] K. 1093, rv. 1.
 al ZA.AN.BAN: [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 17.
 al ZA.NA.KI: [846] K. 673, obv. 8; amēl al Za-na-ki-ú-a, [846] K. 673, rv. 8; šal al Za-na-ki-i-tú, [846] K. 673, rv. 5.
 nār ZA.NA.NI: [485] K. 1061, obv. 5; nār Za-n[a-n]i, [583] K. 1094, obv. 5.
 māt ḤA.BAN: [556] K. 683, rv. 2.
 māt ḤU.BU.ÚŠ.KA.AI: [197] K. 181, rv. 20; māt Ḥu-bu-us-ki, [434] Bu. 89-4-22, 163, obv. 11; māt Ḥu-bu-us-ki-a, [434] Bu. 89-4-22, 163, obv. 21; [a]l Ḥu-bu-us-ka-a, [441] K. 534, obv. 17.
 al ḤI.GA.LI.A: [794] 83-1-18, 150, rv. 13.
 nār ḤU.UD.ḤU.UD: [280] K. 10, rv. 18.
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 māt ḤAL.ZI.AT.PAR: [43] K. 122, obv. 19; māt Ḥal-zi-at-par-ai, [245] K. 513, obv. 9.
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 al ḤA.LU.LI.E: [262] K. 607, obv. 12.
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 māt ḤAL.MAT.AI: [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, rv. 2.
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 māt ḤAL.ḲU.TE: [245] K. 513, obv. 5, rv. 11.
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 māt ḤA.MA.TE: [225] K. 674, obv. 7; māt Ḥa-ma-ta-ai, [331] K. 581, rv. 5.
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 nār ḤAR.RI: [288] K. 95, obv. 7, [747] K. 923, obv. 8, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 8.
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^{a1} TU.UR.UŠ.PA.A: [144] K. 194, obv. 8, 15, 16, [146] K. 1080, rv. 9, [148] K. 1907, obv. 4, [444] K. 645, obv. 19, [492] 81-2-4, 60, obv. 5; ^{a1} Tu-ru-uš-pa-a, [381] 81-2-4, 55, rv. 5, [424] Sm. 760, obv. 13; ^{a1} Tu-ru-uš-pi-a, [123] K. 574, rv. 4.
^{a1} TUR-UP[-]: [390] Sm. 1046, obv. 15.
^{mat} IA.U.DA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 6.
^{amēl} IA.A.DA.ĶU.AI: [349] Rm 78, rv. 4.
^{mat} IA.A.NU: [792] 83-1-81, 52, rv. 8.
^{mat} IA.SU.PI: [581] K. 1072, rv. 4; ^{mat} Ia-su-me (*sic*/), [245] K. 513, rv. 3; ^{mat} Ia-šú-pu, [228] K. 1055, rv. 9.
^{amēl} IA.A.ŠI.AN: [280] K. 10, obv. 14.
^{a1} IA.RI: [173] K. 686, rv. 1; ^{a1} Ia-e-ri, [441] K. 534, obv. 5.
^{mat} KAB.BU: [301] K. 84, obv. 21.
^{amēl} KUB.TA.AI: [576] K. 1009, rv. 6.
^{a1} KI.GU.UĤ.TÚ: [556] K. 683, rv. 10.
^{a1} KI.ZA.ĤA.SI: [556] K. 683, rv. 10.
^{a1} KAK.ZA: [211] K. 662, rv. 9; ^{a1} Kak-sim, [346] Bu. 89-4-26, 9, obv. 3; ^{a1} Kak-zi, [43] K. 122, obv. 14, [64] K. 550, obv. 12, [389] Sm. 1034, obv. 8, [843] K. 846, rv. 6; ^{a1} Kak-zi-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 7.
^{mat} KAL.DU: [337] D. T. 98, rv. 15; ^{mat} Kal-di, [629] K. 1263, obv. 23, 24; ^{mat} Kal-dá-ai, [742] Rm 2, 462, obv. 5; ^{amēl} Kal-du, [240] K. 7467, obv. 11; ^{amēl} Kal-da-ai, [245] K. 513, rv. 2, 9, [247] K. 1027, rv. 3, [411] Rm 2, 5, obv. 5, [564] K. 937, obv. 6, [759] D. T. 63, obv. 6, [763] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 5.
^{mat} KAL.DU.DI: [798] K. 1023, obv. 6.
^{a1} KAL.ĤI: [65] K. 629, obv. 7, 14, [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, obv. 13, [440] K. 493, obv. 10; ^{a1} Kal-ĥa, [6] K. 595, rv. 9, [52] K. 80, rv. 7, [106] K. 1209, rv. 2, 7, [127] K. 616, rv. 11, [198] K. 5464, rv. 22, [232] K. 1059, obv. 5, [233] K. 7339, obv. 5, [235] K. 13016, obv. 7, [394] 81-2-4, 57, rv. 2, [453] K. 948, rv. 9, [476] 83-1-18, 5, obv. 10, [486] K. 8375, obv. 5, rv. 11, 15, [493] 83-1-18, 13, rv. 16, [547] K. 587, rv. 9, 16, [626] K. 1233, rv. 4, [730] Rm 2, 14, rv. 11; ^{a1} Kál-ĥa, [23] K. 602, rv. 10, [175] K. 614, obv. 9; ^{a1} Kal-ĥa-ai, [386] 83-1-18, 9, obv. 21, [529] K. 1252a, rv. 13, [712] Sm. 1223, obv. 6; ^{a1} Kal-laĥ, [57] K. 687, obv. 14, rv. 8; ^{a1} Ka-laĥ, [698] Sm. 764 + Sm. 1650, obv. 10, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 7.
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^{mat} KAL.NU: [326] K. 1249, obv. 3.
^{mat} KUL.LA.NI.A: [43] K. 122, obv. 15; ^{a1} Kul-la-ni-a, [372] 80-7-19, 26, rv. 11; ^{a1} Ku-lu-niā, [129] K. 5458, obv. 6, 8.

- mat KU.MA.AI: [619] K. 1182, obv. 7; ^{a1} Ku-ma-ai, [198] K. 5464, obv. 17, [490] K. 746, obv. 6; ^{a1} Ku-me, [544] K. 464, obv. 17, 24; ^{amel} Ku-um-ma-ai, [206] K. 539, obv. 5; ^{amel} Ku-ma-ai-e, [544] K. 464, obv. 13, 16.
^{a1} KU.BAT.[.]: [101] K. 561, obv. 18.
 mat KU.MU.ĤA.AI: [196] K. 125, obv. 8, 12, 22.
 mat KA.AI.MA.NI: [863] K. 1196, obv. 6.
 mat KU.ME.SA.AI: [310] K. 610, obv. 9.
^{a1} KI.MAR[.]: [128] K. 650, rv. 2.
^{a1} KAN.NU'.AI: [529] K. 1252a, obv. 7.
 mat KU.U.SU: [629] K. 1263, rv. 9; mat Ku-u-si, [32] K. 527, obv. 14; mat Ku-sa-ai, [60] K. 487, obv. 8, [61] K. 529, obv. 9, rv. 1, 5, [64] K. 550, obv. 8, rv. 1, [372] 80-7-19, 260, obv. 7, 9, rv. 1, 3, 9, 16, [373] 82-5-22, 99, obv. 7, 9, 11, 13, [374] 82-5-22, 172, obv. 7, [376] 83-1-18, 42, obv. 12, rv. 1, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 7, 12, 14, rv. 4, [538] K. 531, obv. 9, rv. 4, [601] K. 1126, obv. 5, 12, 14, [649] 81-2-4, 110, obv. 3, rv. 1, [684] 80-7-19, 37, rv. 1, [686] 83-1-18, 113, rv. 4; Ku-sa-ai, [63] K. 549, obv. 7, [374] 82-5-22, 172, obv. 9, 12, [376] 83-1-18, 42, obv. 7, 8, 9, [393] 80-7-19, 25, obv. 9, rv. 2, 4, 10, [575] K. 1005, obv. 7, 9; ^{a1} Ku-si, [575] K. 1005, rv. 6.
^{a1} KA.SAP.PA: [52] K. 80, obv. 9; ^{a1} Ka-sap-pi, [862] K. 1056, obv. 3, 5.
^{a1} KI-SIK: [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 8, 10; ^{amel} Ki-sik^{ph}-ai, [210] K. 647, obv. 2; ^{a1} Ki-is-sik, [736] K. 1030, obv. 8; ^{amel} Ki-is-sik-ai, [736] K. 1030, obv. 2.
^{a1} KÂR. ^{ilu} ANIM: [326] K. 1249, rv. 2.
^{a1} KÂR.ME.E: [574] K. 1004, obv. 6.
^{a1} KÂR. ^{ilu} NA.NA.A: [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, rv. 11.
 mat KÂR.SIPARRI: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 12; ^{a1} Kâr Si-par[-ri], [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 12.
^{a1} KÂR ^{ilu} ŠAMAŠ: [95] K. 1151, obv. 6, 8, [207] K. 541, obv. 10.
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^{a1} KUR.BA.AN: [29] K. 1204, obv. 9, [123] K. 574, obv. 7, rv. 11.
 mat KUR.BA.NI.TI: [451] K. 924, rv. 7.
 mat KIR.ĤU: [173] K. 686, obv. 11.
 mat KUR.KI: [749] Sm. 1976, obv. 8; mat Kur-a-ki-e, [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 5.
 mat KUR.IR.BI.IT: [197] K. 181, rv. 10.
 mat KI.IR.ME.SI: [769] K. 1042, rv. 3.
^{a1} KÂR.RIŠ: [761] Rm 2, 474, obv. 6.
^{a1} KI.ŠI.SI: [459] K. 1141, rv. 4.
^{a1} KAŠ.PAR.PAR.EME: [262] K. 607, obv. 9.
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^{a1} LI[. . .]: [841] K. 4757, rv. 9.
^{mat} LA.BA.DU.DA.AI: [537] K. 8535, obv. 5.
^{a1} LA.AB.BA.NA.AT: [32] K. 527, obv. 8, 16.
^{a1} LA.AP.SI.IA: [610] K. 1142, obv. 11.
^{ilu} LA.GU.DU^{ki}: [516] 81-7-27, 31, obv. 11.
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^{a1} LA.ĦI.RU: [61] K. 529, rv. 4, [280] K. 10, obv. 20, [286] K. 5398, obv. 7, [781] K. 823, obv. 7; ^{a1} La-ĥi-ri, [459] K. 1141, rv. 6, [543] K. 176, rv. 5, [558] K. 896, rv. 4, 7, [685] 81-2-4, 96, obv. 8, [746] 83-1-18, 146, obv. 9; ^{a1} La-ĥi-ra-ai, [712] Sm. 1223, rv. 10, 12.
^{a1} LU.LI.I[. . .]: [776] Rm 50, obv. 7.
^{nar} LI.IS.BE: [295] K. 1139, rv. 6.
^{mat} LA.KI.E: [813] K. 688, rv. 7.
^{a1} LU.KA.ŠE: [218] K. 1199, obv. 9.
^{a1} LA.RAK.KA: [763] 81-2-4, 126, obv. 6; ud-ud-ki^{ki}, [344] 83-1-18, 28, rv. 4; ud-ud-ak^{ki}, [542] K. 114, rv. 6, 10, 13; ^{amel} ud-ud-ki-ú-a, [344] 83-1-18, 28, rv. 2.
^{a1} LU.RI.SI.TE: [484] 81-7-27, 33, obv. 8.
^{nar} MA: [378] 83-1-18, 11, rv. 7; ^{nar} Mi, [380] Rm 2, 3, obv. 8.
^{mat} MU'.BA.AI: [632] K. 1295, obv. 4.
^{amel mat} MA.DA.AI: [208] K. 617, obv. 8; ^{mat} Ma-ta-ai, [126] K. 609, obv. 6.
^{mat} MA.ZA.MU: [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 13; ^{mat} Ma-za-mu-a, [556] K. 683, rv. 2.
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^{a1} MA.AĦ.MI.TI: [520] K. 680, rv. 14.
^{mat} ME.LID.AI: [375] 83-1-18, 41, rv. 3.
^{amel} MA.LA.ĦA.AI: [701] Sm. 1338, rv. 2.
^{a1} MU.MA.AI: [246] K. 669, rv. 11.
^{mat} MA.NA.AI: [198] K. 5464, obv. 32, rv. 20, [556] K. 683, rv. 1, 4, [616] K. 1164, obv. 5; ^{mat} Man-ai, [381] 81-2-4, 55, obv. 4, rv. 2, [434] Bu. 89-4-26, 163, obv. 10, 21, rv. 10, 20; ^{mat} Ma-ni-', [414] Rm 77, rv. 14; ^{mat} Ma-na-nu, [520] K. 680, obv. 4; ^{a1} Mu-nu-', [98] K. 5465, rv. 10, 13; ^{mat} Man-na-ai, [165] K. 497, rv. 4, [215] K. 1037, rv. 4, [342] 79-7-8, 234, rv. 7, 13, [466] Sm. 51, rv. 5.
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^{mat} ME.SA.AI: [61] K. 529, rv. 2, 6, [394] 81-2-4, 57, obv. 8, 15, rv. 5; Me-sa-ai, [71] K. 1113 + K. 1229, rv. 9.
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 amēl NI.BA'.A.TI: [260] K. 562, rv. 1.
 mat ilu NABÛ.BA.NU: [520] K. 680, obv. 7, 11.
 al NU.GIŠ.ŠAR: [574] K. 1004, obv. 7.
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 al NU.UḤ.BA.IA: [307] K. 1078, rv. 10; mat al Nu-ḥu-ba-ia, [307] K. 1078, obv. 2.
 mat NA.ḤAL: [520] K. 680, obv. 2.
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 al NI.KUR: [165] K. 497, rv. 2, [556] K. 683, rv. 9; amēl Ni-kur^{ki}, [520] K. 680, rv. 17.
 mat NA.M[A.RU]: [667] 81-7-27, 30, obv. 17.
 al NI.MIT.LA.GU.DA: [474] 81-2-4, 67, obv. 4.
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^{mat} SU.BAR.TI: [356] Bu. 89-4-26, 160, obv. 21.
^{a1} SA.PÁR.[RAT(?)].TE: [87] K. 466, obv. 9, rv. 13.
^{mat} SU.GI.BU.TU: [174] K. 619, obv. 11.
^{mat} SA.DU.DA.AI: [198] K. 5464, rv. 22.
^{a1} SU.DA.NI.NA: [425] Bu. 91-5-9, 105, obv. 10.
^{a1} SA.DI.RI: [602] K. 1127, obv. 13.
^{mat} SU.ĦI: [547] K. 587, obv. 18; ^{mat} Su-ḥa-ai, [813] K. 688, obv. 13, rv. 8.
^{a1} SA.ZA.NA.A: [414] R^m 77, rv. 4.
^{a1} SI.ĦA.NA: [448] K. 826, obv. 5.
[. . .] SUK.KA.AI: [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 8.
^{a1} SA.LA.[.]: [174] K. 619, rv. 8.
^{a1} SIL.ĦA.AI: [635] K. 1516, rv. 6.
^{a1} SA.LAM.ME.E: [726] 80-7-19, 24, rv. 11.
^{a1} SI.'ME.E: [538] K. 531, obv. 13, [575] K. 1005, obv. 8, [585] K. 1098, obv. 5.
^{mat} SU.UM.BI: [312] K. 689, obv. 16.
^{a1} SA.MA.AL.LA: [633] K. 1366, obv. 7.
^{a1} SA.MIR.I.NA.AI: [633] K. 1366, obv. 5.
^{a1} SI.IN.NI: [482] 82-5-22, 104, obv. 8; ^{a1} Si-na-ai [331] K. 531, rv. 4.
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^{a1} SA.AN.ĦA: [342] 79-7-8, 234, obv. 5.
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^{a1} SA.RI.E: [192] K. 146, obv. 11, 14, [635] K. 1516, rv. 1.
^{a1} SU.RI.A.NA.AI: [112] K. 485, rv. 5.
^{a1} SA.RAP.NA.AI: [572] K. 1001, obv. 8, rv. 14.
^{mat} SU.TU.U: [629] K. 1263, obv. 22.
^{a1} PAK.KI.MI.RI: [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 24.
^{mat} PI.LIS.TA.AI: [218] K. 1199, obv. 4.
^{a1} PI.EN.ZA.A: [138] K. 409, obv. 9.
^{a1} PU.ĶU.DU: [267] K. 462, rv. 15, [268] K. 514, obv. 9, 12, [751] Sm. 920, obv. 9, [752] R^m 48, rv. 10, 11; ^{amel} Pu-ḵu-du, [275] K. 82, obv. 6, rv. 10, [279] K. 6946, obv. 9, [282] K. 524, obv. 18, [754] K. 5457, obv. 24, [790] Sm. 1392, obv. 11, [792] 83-1-81, 52, rv. 10; ^{mat} Pu-ḵu-di, [314] K. 1227, obv. 7; [^{mat}] Pu-gu-di, [763] 81-2-4, 126, rv. 3; ^{amel} Pu-ḵu-da, [267] K. 462, obv. 21, [288] K. 95, obv. 6; ^{a1} Pu-ḵu-da-ai, [967] K. 462, rv. 4; ^{amel} Pu-ḵu-da-ai, [754] K. 5457, obv. 26, [808] Bu. 91-5-9, 113, rv. 2; ^{amel} Pu-ḵud, [402] 83-1-18, 31, obv. 8.

- ^{al} PAR.ZA.NI.IS.[TUM]: [147] K. 1170, rv. 7.
^{mat} PAR.SU.A. [165] K. 497, obv. 4, [311] K. 630, obv. 12; ^{al} Par-su-a, [61] K. 529, obv. 10.
^{mat} PA.ÁŠ.ŠA.TE: [205] K. 537, obv. 11.
^{nar} PU.RAT.TE: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 11; ^{nar} Ū-rat, [553] K. 659, rv. 7; ^{nar} Rat-ti, [336] K. 644, rv. 7.
^{nar} PAT.TI-ilu BĒL: [621] K. 1208, obv. 11.
^{al} ŠI.BAR [. . .]: [52] K. 80, obv. 11.
^{mat} ŠI.BA.TU.NU: [576] K. 1009, obv. 18.
^{al} ŠI.DU.NA.AI: [175] K. 614, obv. 6.
^{al} ŠI.MI.RI: [190] K. 596, obv. 21.
^{al} ŠU.PI.TE: [414] Rm 77, rv. 11; ^{al} Šip-te, [95] K. 1151, rv. 5, 7.
^{mat} ẸU.Ū[. . .]: [624] K. 1213, obv. 5.
^{al} ^{amel} ẸU.DA.AI: [246] K. 669, obv. 5.
^{al} ẸU.DA.BA.TI: [315] K. 1402, obv. 7.
^{al} ẸU.UN.BU.NA: [317] K. 5291, obv. 7.
^{mat} ẸA.NI.UN: [444] K. 645, obv. 9; ^{al} Ẹa-ni-un, [444] K. 645, rv. 1.
^{mat} ẸI.PA.NI: [323] K. 6005, obv. 7.
^{mat} ẸA.AP.RI.BA.KI.I.U: [437] K. 168, obv. 15.
^{al} ẸA.AP.PA.TA.AI: [573] K. 1003, obv. 4.
^{amel} ẸUR.RA.AI: [251] K. 506, obv. 4, 8, [388] Rm 2, 463, obv. 6; ^{al} ^{amel} Ẹur-ra-ai, [246] K. 669, obv. 5.
^{nar} ẸUR.BU: [490] K. 746, obv. 2.
^{al} ẸAR.NI.E: [372] 80-7-19, 26, obv. 14.
^{al} ẸU.RA.NI: [480] K. 8402, obv. 6.
^{mat} RU.': [158] K. 530, obv. 4, 9; ^{al} Ru-'-ú-a, [268] K. 514, obv. 10; ^{amel} Ru-ú-ai, [287] K. 94, obv. 6.
^{mat} RU.BU.': [890] K. 1376, obv. 11.
^{mat} RA.BI.TI: [542] K. 114, rv. 18; ^{mat} Rab-bi-tum, [659] Bu. 89-4-26, 17, obv. 6; ^{mat} Ri-b[i- . . .], [639] K. 8390, rv. 7.
^{al} RI.BAT: [804] K. 544, rv. 10, 11.
^{al} RA.DI.E: [281] K. 13, rv. 16.
^{amel} RA.A.DA.GU.AI: [349] Rm 78, rv. 4.
^{amel} RU.ZA.PI.': [846] K. 673, rv. 3.
^{amel} RI.ṬI.GU.AI: [349] K. Rm 78, rv. 5.
^{al} RI.MU.SU: [43] K. 122, obv. 23; ^{al} Ri-mu-sa, [102] K. 657, obv. 10.
^{mat} RA.ŠAP.PA: [43] K. 122, obv. 14, 16, [767] 83-1-18, 75, obv. 10; ^{mat} Ra-ša-pa-ai, [534] K. 637, obv. 7.
^{mat} RU.GA.ḪA.AI: [94] K. 1147 + K. 1947, rv. 1.
^{mat} RA.A.ŠU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 162, obv. 11, 12; rv. 17; ^{amel} ^{mat} Ra-ša-ai, [295] K. 1139, obv. 1.
^{mat} ŠŪ.UB.RI.AI: [507] K. 1077, obv. 7, [705] 82-5-22, 109, obv. 7; ^{mat} Šub-ri-ai, [138] K. 469, obv. 14, 19; ^{mat} Šú-bur-a, [251] K. 506, obv. 11, 19; ^{mat} Šú-bur-ai, [251] K. 506, obv. 22, [252] K. 525, obv. 5.
^{al} ŠÁ.BI.RI.ŠU: [167] K. 582, obv. 9, 19; ^{al} Ša-bi-ri-šu, [252] K. 525, obv. 5, [729] Sm. 521, obv. 6.

- al ŠU.ĦU.RA: [649] 81-2-4, 110, rv. 5.
 al ŠÚ.ĦA.RI.SU.UN.GUR: [281] K. 13, obv. 13.
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 amēl ŠAL.LU.UK.KI.E.A: [281] K. 13, obv. 21; amēl Šal-lu-ki-si-a, [789] K. 1964, obv. 7.
 mat ŠA.A.LI.MU: [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 26.
 nar ŠUM.RIS.†: [520] K. 680, obv. 9.
 al ŠA.MA.Ū.NU: [774] Bu. 89-4-26, 167, obv. 5.
 al ŠE.NU: [602] K. 1127, obv. 12.
 mat ŠA.NI.TI: [476] 83-1-18, 5, rv. 22.
 mat ŠE.IB[.]UR: [646] 79-7-8, 292, obv. 11.
 mat ŠA.PAR.DA: [645] Rm 2, 464, rv. 3.
 al ŠÚ.RU.BA: [424] Sm. 760, rv. 18.
 al ŠA.RA.GI.TI: [617] K. 1167, rv. 7.
 al ŠA.RIŠ: [43] K. 122, obv. 22.
 al ŠÚ.ŠA.AN: [280] K. 10, obv. 13.
 al ŠI.I.TAB.NI: [578] K. 1018, rv. 9.
 al mat ŠE.TA.AI: [259] K. 509, obv. 6, 12.
 mat TA.BAL: [197] K. 181, rv. 28; mat Ta-bal-ai, [602] K. 1127, obv. 4, 11.
 al TA.GA.LA.GI: [408] Rm 2, 1, obv. 16, [701] Sm. 1338, obv. 17. .
 al TI.IG.RI.IŠ: [342] 79-7-8, 234, rv. 1.
 mat TA.ĦU.U.NI: [467] Sm. 456, rv. 19.
 al TI.AL[.]: [282] K. 524, rv. 1.
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 al TIL.BUR.SI.BI: [322] K. 663, rv. 7.
 mat TAM.TIM: [210] K. 647, rv. 11, 14, 16, [267] K. 462, obv. 7, 9; [280] K. 10, obv. 5, [516] 81-7-27, 31, rv. 11, [520] K. 680, rv. 3, 24, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 1, 3 *bis*, 25, [540] K. 87, rv. 7, [576] K. 1009, rv. 9, 11, [736] K. 1030, obv. 11, [795] Bu. 91-5-9, 107, obv. 6, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 14, rv. 5, [859] 82-5-22, 132, obv. 14; mat Tam-tim^{ki}, [863] K. 1196, rv. 7; amēl Ša mat Tam-tim, [540] K. 87, rv. 6; amēl mat Tam-tim-ú-a, [344] 83-1-18, 28, obv. 7; mat Tam-ti, [702] 81-2-4, 77, obv. 1; amēl Tam-da-ai, [839] 83-1-18, 21, obv. 21, rv. 4; amēl mat Tam-tim-ai, [289] K. 312, obv. 1; amēl mat Tam-tim-ú-ai, [521] 83-1-18, 4, rv. 9, [752] Rm 48, rv. 12.
 mat TU.A.NU: [466] Sm. 51, obv. 10.
 al TÚ.NU.NA: [43] K. 122, obv. 22.
 mat TU.NI.TA.ŠÚ[.]: [698] Sm. 764 + Sm. 1650, obv. 14.
 al TA.I.GU.IK.KI: [462] K. 1374, obv. 20, [460] K. 1250, obv. 2.
 al TAR.BU.SI.BI: [642] K. 12046, obv. 4.
 al TAR.BI.ŠI: [47] K. 979, obv. 8, [628] K. 1247, obv. 7.
 al TAR.GI.BA.A.TI: [282] K. 524, rv. 3.
 nar TAR.TA.RI: [547] K. 587, obv. 17.
 mat TA.TA.AI: [649] 81-2-4, 110, obv. 9.



THE REPORT OF WENAMON.¹

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This unique document² is our most important source for the position of Egypt in Syria at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty. It belongs to the fifth year of the last of the Ramessids, when he is but the shadow of a king. Hrihor, the high-priest of Amon, although not called king, is in control at Thebes, and Nesubenebded (Smenides), afterward the first king of the Twenty-first Dynasty, living at Tanis, rules the Delta. Under these circumstances, Hrihor dispatches one of his officials, named Wenamon, to procure cedar from the Lebanon forests, for the construction of a new sacred barque for Amon. In accordance with an oracle of Amon, the messenger was intrusted with a certain image of the god called "Amon-of-the-Way," which he was to take with him as an embassy to the prince of Byblos. As the envoy met with unprecedented difficulties in the execution of his commission, he made out an elaborate report³ on his return home to explain the long series of accidents which had interfered with the success of his mission. Although a large fragment is lacking from the middle of the first column, and the loss of another fragment at the end leaves the narrative unfinished, yet this report is nevertheless one of the most interesting and important documents yet discovered in Egypt.

On the sixteenth of the eleventh month, in the fifth year, probably of Ramses XII., Wenamon left Thebes, and, presenting

¹ The following is a partial preprint of this document, as it will appear in the fourth volume of my *Ancient Records of Egypt*, now being printed by the University of Chicago Press.

² Papyrus found in 1891 by fellahin at El Khilbeh, opposite Feshn in Upper Egypt, now in the possession of M. W. Golénischeff, of St. Petersburg. It consists of part of one column and another almost complete. It was published in transcription by M. Golénischeff in a collection of essays in honor of Baron V. de Rosen's jubilee, with a fac-simile of the first twenty-one lines; and again by Golénischeff in revised transcription (*Rec.*, XXI) with translation. It was translated, without alteration of Golénischeff's arrangement of the fragments, by W. M. Müller (*MDVG.*, 1900, 1); and by Erman (*AZ.*, XXXVIII, 1-14) with a rearrangement of the fragments which seems to me unquestionably correct. The following translation owes much to Erman.

³ That our document is Wenamon's authentic report there seems to me, after a study of its characteristics, not the slightest doubt; but there is not space here to discuss the question. See Erman (*AZ.*, XXXVIII, 2), who reaches the same conclusion.

his credentials to Nesubenebbed at Tanis, he was kindly received. Fifteen days after leaving Thebes (on the first of the twelfth month), he sailed from Tanis (?) into the Mediterranean, in a merchant ship, commanded by a Syrian. Arrived at Dor, the gold and silver which he had brought with him as payment for the timber was stolen from him. Dor was now a petty kingdom of the Thakkara, who, with the Pursata-Philistines, had begun entering Syria under Ramses III., seventy-five or eighty years before. They had constantly pushed southward after their defeat by Ramses III. in his eighth year, and had settled along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean as subjects of the Pharaoh. After the death of Ramses III., they must soon have gained their independence. The Thakkara chief of Dor gives Wenamon little satisfaction for the loss of his valuables, and after waiting nine days he sails northward to Tyre.

The account of the voyage from Dor to Tyre is lost in a lacuna. On the way from Tyre to Byblos, he in some way met some of the Thakkara with a bag (?) of silver. It weighed thirty deben, and, as he had lost thirty-one⁴ deben of silver, he seized it, as security. He arrived at Byblos four months and twelve days after his departure from Thebes, but, as he came in an ordinary merchant ship, and not in a special ship of Nesubenebbed, and was without rich gifts and the customary externals of former Egyptian envoys, Zakar-Baal, the prince of Byblos, would not receive him, and ordered him to leave. After nineteen days, one of the noble youths in attendance upon the prince fell into a prophetic frenzy and demanded that Wenamon and his god, "Amon-of-the-Way," be summoned and honorably treated.

About to return to Egypt, Wenamon was summoned to Zakar-Baal's palace, but, being without money and without credentials, which he had foolishly left with Nesubenebbed at Tanis—having only the above-mentioned image of Amon supposed to confer "life and health," but not likely to impress the Syrian—he was treated with scant respect. The claims of Hrihor and of Amon upon the Lebanon were scouted, and Zakar-Baal proved from his records that his fathers had been paid for their timber. Wenamon therefore sends to Nesubenebbed for money, and the Byblite shows his good-will by dispatching to Egypt at once the heavy timbers of the hull. The messenger returned from Nesubenebbed

⁴ About seven and one-half pounds Troy.

within forty-eight days (perhaps only nineteen or twenty days), with partial payment for the timber desired, whereupon Zakar-Baal sent three hundred men and three hundred oxen, to fell and bring the rest of the timber.

Some eight months after Wenamon left Thebes the timber was ready. Zakar-Baal delivers it to him, and with grim humor tells him that he has been better treated than the last envoys from Egypt, who were detained at Byblos seventeen years and died there. The prince charges an attendant to conduct Wenamon to their tomb, and show it to him. But Wenamon demurs and takes his leave, promising to see that the balance due on the timber is paid. As he is about to sail, a number of Thakkara ships appear, for the purpose of arresting him, doubtless for his seizure of the silver. The unlucky Wenamon sits down upon the beach and weeps, while Zakar-Baal, hearing of his plight, sends him reassuring messages, with food, drink, and a female singer. In the morning the prince interviews the Thakkara and sends Wenamon to sea. In some way he evades the Thakkara, but is driven by a contrary wind to Cyprus (Alashia), where he is about to be killed by the Cyprians, when he finds someone who speaks Egyptian, succeeds in gaining the favor of the Cyprian queen, and is spared.

Here the remarkable report is broken off, and how Wenamon reached Egypt we do not know. It will be seen that in the Lebanon region, once conquered and controlled by the Pharaohs, they are no longer feared. Thus at the close of the Twentieth Dynasty Egypt, while respected as a source of civilization, cannot secure even ordinary protection and civility for her messengers in Syria, and this state of affairs had already existed, probably as early as the reign of Ramses IX., a generation earlier.

Besides the earliest instance of prophetic ecstasy known to us, the document contains also another significant datum, viz., the princes of Byblos had for two generations been keeping their daily business records in a book or roll (ʿr). Moreover, among the gifts brought to the prince of Byblos from the Delta were five hundred rolls of papyrus paper. Of course, the Phœnician *did not write cuneiform* with pen and ink upon these rolls; for a script worse suited to such writing materials than cuneiform can hardly be imagined. It is evident that he wrote upon papyrus the hieratic hand customarily written upon it in Egypt, *the only*

method of writing then known, which contained alphabetic signs for the whole alphabet. It thus becomes clear that by 1100 B.C. the cuneiform had been displaced in Phœnicia, and before the tenth century the Phœnician scribes, discarding the innumerable syllabic signs of the Egyptian hieratic, had accustomed themselves to employ only its alphabetic signs.

The following conventional signs are used in the translation:

1. Everything inclosed in () is editorial explanation.
2. Everything in [] is restoration of lost words.
3. Everything in [] is restoration of the probable content of a lost passage, but not a restoration of the lost words.
4. Everything in ' ' is uncertain.
5. ' - ' means an uncertain word; ' - - ' means two uncertain words, etc.
6. - means a lost word; - - two lost words, etc.

'Year 5,* 3d month of the 3d season (11th month), day 16, day of the departure of the "eldest of the hall," of the house of Amon, 'the lord of the lands, Wenamon, to bring the timber for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, king of gods, which is on ['the river'] - - - (called): "Userhet" of Amon.

On the day of my arrival at Tanis (*Dⁿ*), at the 'place of abode of Nesubenebbed (*Ns-sw-b'-nb-dd*)^c and Tentamon, I gave to them the writings of Amon-Re, king of gods, which they 'caused to be read in their presence; and they said: "I will do (it), I will do (it) according to that which Amon-Re, king of gods our 'lord, saith." I abode until the 4th month of the 3d season,^d being in Tanis.

Nesubenebbed and 'Tentamon sent me with the ship-captain Mengeb (*M-n-g-b-ty*), and I descended into 'the great Syrian (*H'-rw*) sea, in the 4th month of the 3d season, on the 1st day. I arrived at Dor, a city of 'Thakkara (*T'-k'-r*), and Bedel (*B'-dy-r*), its king, caused to be brought for me much bread, a jar of wine, "and a joint of beef.

Then a man of my ship fled, having stolen:*

—[vessels] of gold, "amounting to	5 deben;
4 vessels of silver, amounting to	20 deben;
A sack of silver	11 deben
'[Total of what] he [stole]	5 deben of gold
	31 deben of silver'

*That this date must refer to Ramses XII. was shown by Erman (*JZ.*, XXXVIII, 2).

^bThe name of the barque of Amon; see, e. g., Papyrus, Harris, VII, 6.

^cGreek Smendes; part of the name is here broken out, and the reading is taken from l. 6.

^dFourteen days after his departure from Thebes.

^eThe names of the articles of gold are broken out.

^fAbout one and one-fifth pounds of gold and about seven and one-half pounds of silver.

In the morning then I rose and went to ¹⁸the abode of the prince, and I said to him: "I have been robbed in thy harbor. Since thou art the king of this land, ¹⁴thou art therefore its investigator, who should search for my money. For the money belongs to Amon-Re, ¹⁵king of gods, the lord of the lands; it belongs to Nesubenebbed, and it belongs to Hrihor, my lord, and the other ¹⁶magnates of Egypt; it belongs also to Weret (*W'rty*), and to Mekmel^a (*M-k'-m-rw*), and to Zakar-¹⁷Baal (*T'-k'-rw-B-^c-r*),^b the prince of Byblos."^c He said to me:^d "To thy honor and thy excellence! but behold I know nothing ¹⁸of this complaint which thou hast lodged with me. If the thief belonged to my land, he who went on board^e ¹⁹thy ship, that he might steal thy treasure, I would repay it to thee from my treasury, till they ²⁰find thy thief by name; but the thief who robbed thee belongs to ²¹thy ship. Tarry a few days here with me and I will seek him." When I had spent nine^f days, moored ²²in his harbor, I went to him, and said to him: "Behold, thou hast not found my money ²³[[therefore let me depart]] with ²⁴the ship-captain, and with those who go - - - - -"

_____ ^h

¹_____ the sea. He said to me, "Be silent"

²_____ the harbor _____ ³- - - [[I arrived at]] Tyre.¹ I went forth from Tyre at early dawn _____ ⁴- - - Zakar-Baal (*T'-k'-r'-B-^c-r*), the prince of Byblos^k _____

_____ ⁵the - - - I found 30 deben of silver therein, I seized [it, 'saying to them: "I will take¹" ⁶your money, and it shall remain with me until ye find [my money. 'Was it not a man of Thakkara¹] who stole it, and no thief [⁷of ours¹]? I will take it _____."¹ They went away, while I ⁸- - - - -

[I] arrived - - - - the harbor of Byblos [[I made a place of concealment, ⁹I hid]] "Amon-of-the-Way," and I placed his things in it. The chief of Byblos sent to me, saying: "Be[take thyself] (from) ¹⁰my harbor." I sent to him, saying: _____

^a We have here given first the Egyptians who sent the valuables, and then the Syrians, to whom it was to be paid.

^b זכר-בעל, as Müller and Erman have noted.

^c This indicates the locality where Wenamon expects to purchase the timber.

^d Something like "I am beholden to" is to be understood.

^e Lit., "descended into."

^f The numeral is a little uncertain, but it is not less than nine.

^g Four lines are lost here and an uncertain amount more; for the sake of convenience in the numbering, the loss is assumed to be five lines.

^h Three lines containing but a few broken words; among them a reference to searching for the thieves, which shows that Fragment III belongs in this place. The journey to Tyre from Dor is somewhere in these lacunæ.

ⁱ The total loss between the two parts of I is some twenty-three lines. The bulk of this loss precedes III, and only a small portion follows it.

^j Only the *r* of Tyre is preserved, but as he is just leaving there, it can hardly be the *r* of Dor.

^k This is not the arrival, but merely the mention of his intended destination.

^l A few fragments of words for about one-third line.

+¹—— “if they sail, let them take *me* to Egypt.” — I spent 19 days in his [harbor], and he continually sent to me daily saying:

“Betake thyself away from my harbor.”

Now when he sacrificed to his gods —, the god seized one of his noble youths (^c*dd*), making him frenzied, so that he said: “Bring [the god] hither!^b Bring the messenger of Amon who hath him. *+^cSend him and let him go.”

Now while the frenzied (youth) continued in frenzy during this night, I found a ship bound for Egypt and I loaded in all my belongings into it. I waited for the darkness, saying: “When it descends I will embark the god also, in order that no other eye may see him.”

The harbor-master came to me, saying: “Remain until morning by the king.” I said to him: “Art not thou he who continually came to me, daily, saying: ‘Betake thyself away from my harbor’? Dost thou not say, ‘Remain in the [land]’, *+¹⁰in order to let depart the ship that I have found? that thou mayest come and say again, ‘Away!’” He went and told it to the king, and the king sent to the captain of the ship, saying: “Remain until morning by the king.”

When morning came he sent and had me brought up, when the divine offering occurred in the fortress wherein he was, on the shore of the sea. I found him sitting in his upper chamber, leaning his back against a window, while the waves of the great Syrian sea beat against the — *+¹⁰behind him. I said to him: “‘Kindness’ of Amon!” He said to me: “How long is it until this day since thou camest (away) from the abode of Amon?” I said: “Five months and one day, until now.”

He said to me: “Behold, if thou art true, where is the writing of Amon, which is in thy hand? Where is the letter of the high-priest of Amon, which is in thy hand?” I said to him: “I gave them to Nesubenebbed and Tentamon.” Then he was very wroth, and he said to me: “Now behold, the writing and the letter are not in thy hand! Where is the ship of cedar, which Nesubenebbed gave to thee? Where is *+¹⁰its Syrian crew? He would not deliver thy business to this ship-captain [—] [—] to have thee killed, that they might cast thee into the sea. From whom would they have sought the god then? And thee, from whom would they have sought thee then?” So spake he to me. I said to him:

“There are indeed Egyptian ships and Egyptian crews who sail under Nesubenebbed, (but) he hath no Syrian crews.” He said to me: “There are surely 20 ships here in my harbor, which are in connection with Nesubenebbed; and at this Sidon, ‘whither thou also ‘wouldst go’, there are indeed 10,000 ships also which are in connection ‘with Berket-El^d (W’-r’-k-ty-r’) and sail to his house.”

*The lacuna here doubtless includes several lines, but is not so large as the one before III; see note p. 104, above. The uncertain line numbering I have inserted only every five lines for this fragment.

^bLit “up.” In ecstasy the youth demands the summoning of Wenamon and his image of Amon, and that they be honorably treated and dismissed.

^cThis would be the twelfth of the fourth month.

^dErman thinks this must be some great Phœnician merchant resident in Tanis, and the parallelism certainly points clearly to some one in Tanis.

Then I was silent in this great hour. ⁹He answered and said to me: "On what business hast thou come hither?" I said to him: "I have come 'after the timber for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, king of gods. Thy father did it, 'thy grandfather did it, and thou wilt also do it.'" So spake I to him.

He said to me: "They did it truly. ⁹If thou give me (something) for doing it, I will do it. Indeed, my agents transacted the business; ⁷the Pharaoh L. P. H. sent 6 ships, laden with the products of Egypt, and they were unloaded into their ⁸store-houses. And thou also shalt bring something for me." He had brought in the journals of his fathers, ⁹and he had them read before me. They found 1,000 deben of every (kind of) silver, which was in his book.

¹⁰He said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the owner of my property, and I were also his servant, ¹¹he would not send silver and gold saying: 'Do the command of Amon.' It was not the payment ¹²of 'tribute'^a which they exacted of my father. As for me, I am myself neither thy ¹³servant, nor am I the servant of him that sent thee. If I cry out to the ¹⁴Lebanon, the heavens open, and the logs lie here on the shore of the sea."

"Give ¹⁵me the sails which thou hast brought to propel thy ships which bear thy logs to [Egypt]. ¹⁶Give me the cordage [¹⁷'which thou hast brought to bind'¹] the trees which I fell, in order to make them ¹⁸'fast' for thee ¹⁹—— I make them for thee 'into' the sails of thy ²⁰ships, and the tops are (too) heavy and they break, and thou die in the midst of the sea ²¹when Amon thunders in heaven, and puts Sutekh in his time."

"For Amon ²²equips all lands; he equips them, having first equipped the land of Egypt, whence thou comest. ²³For artisanship came forth from it, to reach my place of abode; and teaching came forth ²⁴from it to reach my place of abode. What (then) are these miserable journeys which they have had thee make!"

I said to him: ²⁵"O guilty one! They are no miserable journeys on which I am. There is no ship upon the river ²⁶which Amon does not own. For his is the sea, and his is Lebanon of which thou sayest, 'It is mine, It ²⁷grows for 'Userhet' (the barque) of Amon, the lord of every ship. Yea, so spake Amon-Re, king of gods, saying to ²⁸Hrihor, my lord, 'Send me,' and he made me go bearing this great god. But behold, thou hast let ²⁹this great god wait twenty-nine^c days, when he had landed [in] thy harbor, although thou didst certainly know he was here. He is indeed (still) what ³⁰he (once) was, while thou standest and bargainest for the Lebanon with Amon, its lord. As for what thou sayest, that the ³¹former kings sent silver and gold, if they had given life and health, they would not have sent the valuables; ³²(but) they sent the

^a *Mrk* for *brk*(?) *F* = "pay" is common. Erman suggests that *mrk* is connected with *melek*, "king," but *f*' seems to me to make this interpretation difficult.

^b Lebanon.

^c This was four months and twelve days after leaving Thebes; he must therefore have reached Byblos three months and thirteen days after leaving Thebes.

valuables [to] thy fathers instead of life and health. Now as for Amon-Re, king of gods, he is the "lord of life and health, and he was the lord of thy fathers, who spent their lifetime offering "to Amon." And thou also, thou art the servant of Amon. If thou sayest to Amon, 'I will do (it), I will do (it),' and thou executest his "command, thou shalt live, and thou shalt be prosperous, and thou shalt be healthy, and thou shalt be pleasant to thy whole land and thy people. Wish not "for thyself a thing belonging to Amon-Re, [king of] gods. Yea, the lion loves his own."

"Let my scribe be brought to me, that I may send "him to Nesubenebbed and Tentamon, the rulers whom Amon hath given to the north of his land, "and they will send all that, of which I shall write to them, saying: 'Let it be brought;' until I return to the south and "send thee all, all thy trifles again." So spake I to him.

He gave my letter into the hand of his messenger. He loaded in the 'keel'^b "the head of the bow and the head of the stern, with four other hewn timbers, together seven; and he had them taken to Egypt. "His messenger went to Egypt, and returned to me, to Syria in the first month of the second season." Nesubenebbed and Tentamon sent:

"Gold: 4 *Tb*-vessels, 1 *K'k-mn*-vessel;

Silver: 5 *Tb*-vessels;

Royal linen: 10 garments, 10 '*hm-brd*';

Papyrus: "500 rolls;

Ox hides: 500;

Rope: 500 (coils);

Lentils: 20 measures;

Fish: 30 measures (*mst*').

She^c sent me:

Linen: "5 -, 5 '*hm-brd*';

Lentils: 1 measure;

Fish: 5 measures (*mst*').

The king rejoiced and detailed "three hundred men and three hundred oxen, placing overseers over them, to have the trees felled. They spent the second season therewith "f-1. In the 3d month of the second season* (7th month) they dragged them [to] the shore of the sea. The chief came forth and stood by them.

He sent to me, "saying: "Come." Now when I had presented myself before him, the shadow of his sunshade fell upon me. Penamon, "a butler, he stepped between me, saying: "The shadow of Pharaoh, L.P.H. thy lord, falls upon thee." He^d was angry "with him, saying: "Let

* Ramses III. built a temple of Amon in Phoenicia; Thutmose III. gave three cities of the southern Lebanon district to Amon; Zakar-Baal had a butler named Penamon, and there is no doubt that Wenamon's statement was correct.

^b *Pypy-t*, determined with a piece of wood. The three principal timbers of the ship are undoubtedly mentioned here.

* Within forty-eight days of the date of his departure (twelfth of the fourth month).

^d Tentamon sent him a personal present.

^e Some eight months after he left Thebes.

^f The chief of Byblos.

him alone!" I presented myself before him and he answered and said to me: "Behold, the command which my ⁴⁶fathers formerly executed, I have executed, although thou for thy part hast not done for me that which thy fathers did for me. Behold, there has arrived ⁴⁷the last of thy timber, and there it lies. Do according to my desire and come to load it, for they will indeed give it to thee."

⁵⁰"Come not to contemplate the terror of the sea, (but) if thou dost contemplate the terror of the sea, thou shalt (also) contemplate ⁵¹my own. Indeed I have not done to thee that which they did to the messengers of Khamwese,^a when they spent seventeen years ⁵²in this land. They died in their place."^b He said to his butler: "Take him and let him see their tomb, wherein they ⁵³sleep."

I said to him: "Let me not see it! As for Khamwese, people were the messengers whom he sent to thee; but people ⁵⁴— there was no [god among] his messengers. And yet thou sayest, 'Go and see thy companions.' Lo, art thou not glad, ⁵⁵and dost thou not have made for thee a tablet, whereon thou sayest: 'Amon-Re, king of gods, sent to me 'Amon-of-the-Way,' his ⁵⁶[divine] messenger, and Wenamon, his human messenger, after the timber for the great and august barque of Amon-Re, king of gods. I felled it, ⁵⁷I loaded it, I supplied him (with) my ships and my crews, I brought them to Egypt, to beseech for me ⁵⁸10,000 years of life from Amon, more than my ordained (life), and it came to pass.' Then in future days when a messenger comes ⁵⁹from the land of Egypt, who is able to write, and reads thy name upon the stela, thou shalt receive water in the west, like the gods who are ⁶⁰there." He said to me: "It is a great testimony which thou tellest me."

I said to him: "As for the many things which thou hast said to me, when I reach ⁶¹the place of abode of the high-priest of Amon, and he shall see thy command in thy command,^c [he] will have something delivered to thee."

⁶²I went to the shore of the sea, to the place where the timbers lay; I spied eleven ships ⁶³coming from the sea, belonging to the Thakkara, saying:^d "Arrest him! Let not a ship ⁶⁴of his (pass) to Egypt!" I sat down and began to weep. The letter-scribe of the chief came out to me ⁶⁵and said to me: "What is the matter with thee?" I said to him: "Surely thou seest these birds which twice descend upon Egypt. ⁶⁶Behold them! They come to the pool, and how long^e shall I be

^aWho this Khamwese was is not entirely certain. Erman recalls the occurrence of Khamwese as part of the name in the cartouche of Ramses IX., and it is not improbable that he is meant, for, as the messengers have been dead some time, and this document is dated in the fifth year of Ramses XII., they must have left Egypt some twenty-five years earlier, which would certainly carry us back into the reign of Ramses IX.

^bThis phrase "in their place" in connection with dying must have some particular meaning. It is frequently so used in the inscription of Ramses III., and of the conspirators against him, who committed suicide; but its idiomatic force is not clear.

^cThe text is translated verbatim; but is perhaps corrupt.

^dThe report, otherwise so full, abbreviates here; he means that they were under orders, of which he introduces the purport by the word "saying."

^eLit. "until what comes."

here, forsaken? For thou seest surely those who come "to arrest me again."*

He went and told it to the chief. The chief began to weep at the evil words which they spoke to him. "He sent out his letter-scribe to me, he brought me two jars of wine and a ram. He sent "to me Tentno (*Tynt-nwt*), an Egyptian singer (fem.) who was with him, saying: "Sing for him; let not his heart take notions." He sent to me, "saying: "Eat, drink, and let not thy heart take notions. Thou shalt hear all that I have to say in the morning."

Morning "came, he had (the Thakkara) called into his " , he stood in their midst and said to the Thakkara: "Why have ye come?" "They said to him: "We have come after the stove-up ships which thou sendest to Egypt with our " comrades." "He said to them: "I cannot arrest the messenger of Amon in my land. Let me send him away, and ye shall pursue him "to arrest him."

He loaded me on board, he sent me away—to the harbor of the sea. The wind drove me to the land of "Alashia ('-r'-s'); those of the city came forth to me to slay me. I was brought among them to the abode of Hatiba (*H'-ty-b'*), "the queen of the city. I found her as she was going forth from one of her houses and entering into her other. I "saluted her, I asked the people who stood about her: "There is surely one among you who understands Egyptian?" One "among them said: "I understand (it)." I said to him: "Say to my mistress: 'I have heard as far as Thebes, the abode of Amon, that "in every city injustice is done, but that justice is done in the land of Alashia; (but) lo, injustice is done every day here.'" She said: "Indeed! What is "this that thou sayest?" I said to her: "If the sea raged and the wind drove me to the land where I am, "thou wilt not let them take 'advantage of' me to slay me; I being a messenger of Amon. I am one for whom they will seek "unceasingly. As for the crew of the prince of Byblos, whom they sought to kill, their lord will surely find "ten crews of thine, and he will slay them, on his part." She had the people called and stationed (before her); she said to me: "Pass the night ———."

*This word points to earlier trouble with the Thakkara, and doubtless explains the "twice" above.

THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY¹ OF EGYPT

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Since Steindorff² showed that the Intfs do not all belong in the Eleventh Dynasty, the greatest uncertainty has prevailed as to the length of this dynasty, and the order of the kings belonging to it. A closer examination, however, will, I believe, permit of a fairly safe arrangement of these kings, and determine also how long the family reigned.

It is evident from the monuments which they have left that they conquered the North and overthrew the Heracleopolitans. Now, this conquest can be made the basis of a rearrangement of the family which accomplished it. It is possible from the contemporary monuments to determine whether the reign of a given king falls before or after the conquest of the North. Let us apply this test to the four Mentuhoteps known to us.³ These are: Nb-ḥtp, Nb-ḥrw-R', S'nḥ-k'-R' and Nb-t'wy-R'. The Turin Papyrus places Nb-ḥrw-R' and S'nḥ-k'-R' together toward the end of the dynasty, in the order in which I have named them. In the Sakkara and Abydos lists they are the only kings of the Eleventh Dynasty who are mentioned at all; while the prestige of Nb-ḥrw-R' was such that in the tradition of the New Kingdom he was regarded as the founder and establisher of Theban power (*LD*, III, 2*a*, *d*). He is named at the Ramesseum, side by side with Menes and Ahmose I, and receives the same honors as they. It is evident that he must have ruled the whole country; in his time the conquest of the North was a thing of the past. The monuments of his successor, S'nḥ-k'-R', show clearly that he likewise reigned in the period after the conquest. At Hammamat his records (*LD*, II, 150*a* = Golenischeff, *Hamm.*, XV—XVII, xi, 9, 10) state that he drew men for the work in the quarries from the territory between Oxyrhynchus and

¹This reconstruction of the Eleventh Dynasty is also appearing in the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Prussian Academy (in Eduard Meyer's essay, "Aegyptische Chronologie"), 1905.

²"Die Könige Mentuhotep und Antef," *AZ.*, XXXIII, 77 ff.

³I need hardly say to anyone who has examined it, that the Karnak list cannot be employed in such a reconstruction, as its arrangement is not chronological.

Gebelên, showing that all upper Egypt practically was in his hands. Similarly the boast of Henu, who had charge of the work at Hammamat, that he was a "queller of the H'-nbw" (l. 10), shows that he must have controlled the Delta.

In the case of Nb-ḥtp we find very remarkable and hitherto unnoticed evidence of his position in the family. Fragments⁴ of a now vanished temple of his have survived at Gebelên, rebuilt into the wall of a Ptolemaic temple there. One block represents Nb-ḥtp smiting an enemy, bearing the inscription: "Prince of Teḥenu and —(?)". He could hardly have smitten the Libyans unless he had possession of the Delta. Quite decisive, however, is the remarkable scene on another block. Here Nb-ḥtp strikes down four enemies, three of whom are designated as "Nubians, Asiatics (Sttyw), Libyans;" while the fourth, without inscription, is an Egyptian! Over the whole is the following significant inscription: "Binding the chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and Northland, the foreign countries (ḥṣwt) and the two regions (ydbwy), the Nine Bows and the Two Lands." Nb-ḥtp was therefore the king who completed the conquest of the North. For the first time since the wars of the early dynastic kings with the North, we have here a Pharaoh openly boasting of his victories over the Egyptians, and without hesitation depicting his defeated countrymen among the despised barbarians whom he had conquered. It is therefore perfectly certain that Nb-ḥtp belongs before Nb-ḥrw-R'. We cannot place him immediately preceding this king, however, for in a contemporary relief⁵ Nb-ḥrw-R' is shown receiving the homage of a vassal king of his own family, an otherwise unknown 'Intf. Now, this coregent 'Intf cannot have been the successor of Nb-ḥrw-R', for the reason that the Turin Papyrus shows S'nḥ-k'-R' as Nb-ḥrw-R's successor. This unknown 'Intf therefore was the predecessor of Nb-ḥrw-R', and had been displaced by the latter, who then allowed him to reign for a time as a vassal. We may therefore regard the following order of kings as certain:

Nb-ḥtp.
The vassal 'Intf.
Nb-ḥrw-R'.
S'nḥ-k'-R'.

⁴Now in Cairo; (published (very inaccurately) by Daressy (*Rec.*, XIV, 26; XVI, 42); much better by Fraser (*PSBA*, XV, 409, Plate XV). I was fortunately able to use also a dictionary copy by Erman.

⁵*PSBA*, 1881, 93, 100; Petrie, *Season XVI*, 489; Morgan, *Cat. de Mon.*; Maspero, *Hist.*, I, 463.

But it is still uncertain whether there may not have been a reign or two between Nb-ḥtp and the vassal 'Intf. This last question will be resumed later.

Before discussing the position of Nb-t'wy-R', the remaining Mentuhotep of the four, let us now examine the positions to be assigned to the remaining 'Intfs. As Steindorff has conclusively shown, we have besides the vassal 'Intf, only two other 'Intfs, who are shown by the contemporary monuments to belong in the Eleventh Dynasty. These are the nomarch 'Intf and Horus W'ḥ-'nḥ-'Intf. It is evident from the title of the former that he should head the family line, before they assumed royal predicates.⁸ Even the erratic Karnak list places such a nomarch 'Intf at the beginning of this dynasty. Horus W'ḥ-'nḥ reigned to the end of his career before the conquest of the North. Indeed, he began that conquest himself. His tomb stela⁹ erected in the fiftieth year of his reign at Thebes states:

. . . her northern boundary as far as the nome of Aphroditopolis.¹⁰ I drove in the mooring-stake¹¹ (that is, I landed) in the sacred valley, I captured the entire Thinite nome, I opened all her fortresses (or prisons). I made her¹² the "door of the North."

This "door of the North" is of course his northern frontier, corresponding to the "door of the South" at Elephantine, known since the Sixth Dynasty. W'ḥ-'nḥ-'Intf's "door of the North" in the nome of Aphroditopolis can hardly have been anything else than the "fortress of the port of the South," which Tefibi of Siut states¹³ was his southern frontier at about the same period, that is, toward the close of Heracleopolitan supremacy. But W'ḥ-'nḥ-'Intf evidently pushed the conquest no farther during his lifetime, if this point was his frontier at the erection of his tombstone in his fiftieth year. As the conquest of the North was incomplete in his reign, he must therefore be placed before Nb-ḥtp, who completed the conquest, and after the nomarch 'Intf.

⁸ That the line of these Theban princes before they assumed the sole kingship (that is, before they became the Eleventh Dynasty, as known to us), may have included several more of them, is probable from the Karnak list. Whether it is the nomarch Intf, or a later one of the line, who stands at the head of the list in the Turin Papyrus, is not a question essentially affecting this reconstruction.

⁹ Mar., *Mon. div.*, 49; cf. p. 15; Rougé, *Inscr. Hiér.*, 161, 162.


¹⁰ Read the serpent and feather. That this is the proper reading is rendered almost certain by the connected data. W'ḥ-'nḥ is here speaking of the establishment of his northern boundary. The inscription of 'Intf-ykr (see below) shows that W'ḥ-'nḥ ruled as far north as Akhmim, which is directly across the river from the nome of Aphroditopolis, and the latter is just north of the Thinite nome.

¹¹ Compare Sharpe, *Inscr.*, I, 79, l. 14; Pap. Ebers, 58, 9, and Sethe, *Verbum*, I, 259.

¹² The Thinite nome is masculine; hence "her" is doubtless the name of Aphroditopolis.

¹³ Griffith, *Siut*, Tomb, III, l. 18.

We have now determined the relative positions of six kings of the dynasty. That of Nb-t'wy-R' still remains uncertain. It has usually been accepted that the Turin Papyrus assigns six kings to the Eleventh Dynasty; in that case we should have no place in its ranks for our remaining Mentuhotep. As a matter of fact, however, the papyrus shows under the sixth name plain

traces of a seventh; the remains of the  in the title pre-

ceding the name are especially clear. Now, the monuments of Nb-t'wy-R' show beyond question that he ruled the whole country. For his operations in the Hammamat quarries he mustered no less than ten thousand men, three thousand of whom came from the Delta; and his skilled artisans were drawn from the "whole land." We must therefore place him after the conquest of the North, that is after Nb-ḥtp. We left a possible lacuna between Nb-ḥtp and the vassal 'Intf. But the extent of Nb-t'wy-R''s operations in Hammamat is quite against the conclusion that he immediately followed the union of all Egypt under Nb-ḥtp. Moreover, if we insert his reign after Nb-ḥtp, we have no king of the dynasty left to fill the vacancy of the lost name at the end of the dynasty in the Turin Papyrus. Furthermore, Nb-t'wy-R' celebrated his Ḥb-ād already in the second year of his reign.¹² He had thus waited twenty-eight years as crown prince, before his father's death had brought him the crown. He is therefore likely to have been advanced in years at his accession. His mighty vizier, Amenemhet, who mustered ten thousand men for the operations in Hammamat, and boasts of unusual power, was therefore, as has been before suggested, probably able to thrust aside a feeble old king, and become the founder of a new dynasty. However this last supposition may be, I do not think that any other arrangement of the Eleventh Dynasty kings can be supported from the contemporary documents and the lists. The fact that the temple lists have omitted Nb-t'wy-R' after S'nḥ-k'-R' and before the Twelfth Dynasty cannot be cited against our reconstruction; for any reconstruction must reckon with such omission of the name lost at this place in the Turin Papyrus. Such temple lists commonly omit ephemeral reigns at the close of a dynasty.

¹² Golenischeff, *Hammamat*, Plate XI (= LD, II, 140c).

We may therefore restore the seven kings of the Turin Papyrus as follows :

Nomarch Intf I. ¹³	- - - - -	x	years
Horus W'h-'nh-'Intf II.	- - - - -	$50 + x$	"
Nb-htp-Mentuhotep I.	- - - - -	x	"
Vassal 'Intf III.	- - - - -	x	"
Nb-hrw-R'-Mentuhotep II.	- - - - -	$46 + x$	"
S'nh-k'-R'-Mentuhotep III.	- - - - -	$28 + x$	"
Nb-t'wy-R'-Mentuhotep IV.	- - - - -	$2 + x$	"

An examination of the chronology of this reconstruction shows that it will fulfil the demands in this respect also. From the Stela¹⁴ of 'Intf-ykr at Leyden (dated in the thirty-third year of Sesostri I., that is, fifty-three years after the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty), we know that 'Intf-ykr's great grandfather had been appointed to a scribal office in the Thinite nome by W'h-'nh.¹⁵ Estimating an official generation at thirty to thirty-five years, we may roughly date the appointment of 'Intf-ykr's great grandfather at one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty years before the erection of 'Intf-ykr's tombstone at Abydos. His appointment fell therefore in the period from, roughly, sixty-seven to eighty-seven years before the fall of the Eleventh Dynasty. If the appointment occurred near the end of W'h-'nh's reign, the latter's accession may have occurred as early as one hundred and thirty-seven years before the fall of the Eleventh Dynasty. This is again corroborated by the surviving dates from the reigns of his successors, which show that his death could not have occurred later than some eighty years (minimum seventy-six) before the accession of the Twelfth Dynasty. Now, the Turin Papyrus gives at least one hundred and sixty¹⁶ years as the length of the dynasty, and the remaining twenty-three years necessary to make up this total may belong to the reign of the nomarch 'Intf, who preceded W'h-'nh. It should be noted that the war for the conquest of the North may have been concluded as late as eighty years before the end of the Eleventh Dynasty.

¹³ Or one of his descendants, of whom we have no contemporary monuments.

¹⁴ Leemans, *Descr. rais. des mon. Ég. à Leide*, pp. 264-66; Rougé, *Rev. arch.*, 1^{re} sér., VI, 560; Piehl, *Inscr.*, III, XXI, XXII.

¹⁵ In view of this monument it is very remarkable to find W'h-'nh transferred to the period following the Middle Kingdom in Budge's history.

¹⁶ That this total refers to the Eleventh Dynasty is certain. It immediately precedes the Twelfth Dynasty, and as a summation also immediately precedes the Eleventh Dynasty, the sum one hundred and sixty ($+ x$) must refer to the reigns of the Eleventh Dynasty, lying between the two summations.

THE SERPENT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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All animals with which primitive man has come in contact have received some reverence or worship, but the three which sit highest in the house of the gods are the Serpent, the Crow, and the Hare. The serpent has been the most universally worshiped of all animals; wherever it has been known, there it has been revered. The reason is not far to seek. The primal cause of the superstitious regard of any animal lies in its "uncanniness"—a quality which the serpent possesses in a very high degree.

The characteristics which have led mankind to give the serpent such a high place in their regard may be thus summarized: its motions, whether proceeding forward like a "streak of burnished light," or still more wonderfully executing without haste and without confusion the most intricate figures;¹ its lightning-like rapidity in attacking its victims; its tongue continually flickering in and out of its mouth;² its power of looking like its environment;³ its specter-like silence and subtlety; its faculty of sudden appearance and disappearance; its infinite patience and watchfulness; its power of continuing for hours with head raised aloft, and with brilliant eyes fixed on some object which has excited its suspicion or curiosity; its wonderful quietude when lying day after day upon the same spot as if asleep, yet eternally awake, and with open eyes fixed on all who observe it; its power of existing for long periods without food and with no diminution of its vigor; its periodical renewing of its youth by sloughing its skin; its longevity; its deadly venom; its power of fascination; its habit of frequenting ruins, lonely places, caves, and subterranean abodes.

Being possessed of so many qualities, seemingly demoniacal, others were naturally soon added, and serpent-worship, direct and

¹ Cf. Prov. 30:19. Kipling in his *Jungle Book* gives a vivid description of a serpent performing these evolutions.

² The reason for this unceasing motion of the serpent's tongue yet awaits a satisfactory explanation.

³ All wild animals have this power in a greater or less degree.

symbolical, arose.⁴ By reason of tradition, Christians have an almost unconquerable repugnance to the whole serpent kind. Yet the snake has not always been, and by many peoples is not yet, regarded with aversion, but with friendly regard.⁵ This demands explanation. From its uncanniness, and especially from its deadly poison, we should expect fear to predominate in the feeling aroused by the serpent. But the fact that a poisonous snake rarely uses its power against man except to avenge an insult or injury would produce a belief in its friendliness, or at least in its neutrality, which might be inclined to friendliness.⁶ The principal reason is, however, to be found in the fondness of the serpent for lurking about human dwellings. The silent, but ever-watchful, snake gliding about the house came to be looked upon as its protector. This belief in the guardianship exercised by the serpent is its first and most constant attribute.⁷

In close relation to this is the belief common among primitive people in a serpent ancestry. To them the dead must have a material body and a specific location, and the popular conception gave to them most often an animal form. The serpent was very frequently regarded as the dwelling-place of a departed soul, because of its habit of frequenting graves and houses.⁸

⁴I shall here make no examination of what has been well called the "portentous non-sense" of Phallic symbolism. Phallicism was doubtless a most widespread cult, and naturally enough the serpent appears in its symbolism, but such was merely an incident in, not the essence of, serpent-worship. While Phallic practices were probably common in Israel, there is no sure reference to it in the Old Testament (cf., however, W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Note D, on Isa. 57:8).

⁵The serpent was often kept as a pet. In ancient Greek pictures a serpent is frequently seen under the table in place of a dog (*Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, Vol. V, p. 113). The most common serpent of Greece and Italy is the *Coluber Aesculapii*, which attains a length of about three feet, is of a mild disposition, and easily domesticated. Ælian says the ancient Egyptians kept snakes as pets.

⁶American Indians believe that a rattlesnake will not bite an Indian except in revenge (Emerson, *Indian Myths*, p. 43). Among the Zulus the murder of a venomous snake had to be atoned for (Batzel, *History of Mankind*, Vol. II, p. 356).

⁷In classical language, its fortune; in colloquial parlance, its mascot. Should a serpent take up its abode in a Zulu house, it is *itongo*—the god of the house (Batzel, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 356). In Armenia to this day the harmless house snakes are regarded as the family protectors, and every village and district is supposed to have its invisible guardian serpent to whom offerings are made (Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, pp. 74 sq.). In the Punjab every householder places his house under the protection of a *naga*, or harmless snake (Crooke, *Folklore of India*, Vol. II, p. 144). The Roman *genius loci* often appeared as a serpent, and the royal and divine serpent-symbol of Egypt typifies guardianship. In modern Egypt every house has a serpent as its *harras-el-bet*, or protector of the house, which is fed on milk and eggs. In Cairo each quarter of the city is believed to have a guardian spirit in the shape of a serpent. One of the most common designs on Assyrian amulets is the serpent, and its place as guardian may be implied from its representation on boundary stones, for example on those of Merodach-Baladan and Nebuchadnezzar.

⁸There seems to have been a natural relation supposed to exist between mankind and the serpent. When a huge serpent issued from the body of the crucified Cleomenes the

By a combination of the two preceding views arose the conception of the serpent as an avenger. In the earliest beliefs the Greek Erinyes were the spirits of the dead in serpent form, who remained around the house or grave to avenge any injury or insult offered it, and although as early as the time of Homer the Erinyes had become more or less an abstraction, in Virgil the serpents still issue from the grave.

The serpent was also frequently regarded as the symbol or cause of life and healing.⁹ Asklepios, Apollo, and Hygeia were all worshiped in this form, and during a plague in Rome a sacred serpent was brought from Greece to stay the pestilence. To this day the Moslem peasantry of Egypt believe most firmly in the Shekh Heridi, a serpent with shrine and priests, and cures as wonderful as those wrought by the good Ste Anne de Beaupre are reputed to be done by it.¹⁰ Wisdom was ascribed to the serpent, and it has also been employed as the symbol of time or eternity.

The beliefs about the serpent may well be called catholic, and were doubtless held firmly by the ancient Hebrews; and we should expect, therefore, to find traces of them, or some of them, in the Bible.

In Tristram's *Fauna of Palestine* thirty-three species of serpents are enumerated, but of these only six are poisonous, and deaths from snake-bite are rare at the present day. Like ourselves, the people do not clearly distinguish between the harmless snakes and their deadly kinsfolk, so that many or most of the innocuous serpents are also dreaded.

The generic word for serpent is *nahash* (נָחָשׁ). The same word also denotes divination (Gen. 30:27; Lev. 19:26; Numb. 23:23), which shows the high reputation of the snake for wisdom.

people were terrified, for this showed him to have been a semi-divine hero. They were pacified on being reminded that, as the body of a bull produced bees, and that of a horse, wasps, so the body of a man produced serpents (*Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, Vol. XIX, pp. 205 *seq.*). By modern Greek peasants an unbaptized babe is called *spanoula* ("little serpent"), and is no doubt in danger of being spirited away in that form (*ibid.*, p. 216). With this may be compared the old Arab custom of hiding a new-born baby under a caldron until daylight. Iron by its magical properties would keep it safe from jinn until it could be put under the protection of a deity (*Kinship*, p. 154).

⁹ In 1899 a court in Larnaca, Cyprus, awarded £80 (Turkish) as damages for the loss of a snake's horn which had been lent to cure a certain disease.

¹⁰ Native Christians generally identify Shekh Heridi with Asmodeus, the evil spirit exorcised from Sarrah by the fish liver and banished to Egypt (Tobit, 3:8). Perhaps the worship of this serpent may have suggested to the writer of Tobit this destination for the demon. Moslems, as a rule, hate the serpent as much as Christians do, and a Mohammedan will carefully break every hair which comes out of his beard lest it become a reptile.

The enchanter is the wise man, the man who has supernatural knowledge and power. In course of time the magician and his arts came to be regarded as evil, but when the name for serpent became the name for magic, it simply meant that the enchanter, medicine-man, or priest was as clever as a serpent. It is barely possible that the Arab word *ḥanash*, "to enchant," and *naḥash* are etymologically connected.

The *Pethen*¹¹ (פֶּתֶן, Deut. 32:33; Isa. 11:8; Ps. 58:5; 91:13; Job 20:14, 16; etymology uncertain; cf. Ass. *pitnu*, "a noose, or snare") is most probably the serpent known in Egypt as the *hayye*¹² (*coluber* or *naja haie*, *cerastes candidus*), the common asp—a serpent very closely allied to the cobra of India, but without the spectacle markings. Like it also, although very poisonous, it is the favorite serpent of charmers and jugglers. It is not found now in great numbers in Palestine, but the reference to "charming" (Ps. 58:5, 6) seems to make it certain that the *hayye* is referred to by this name.¹³

The *Shephiphon* (שִׁפִּיפֹן) is mentioned once (Gen. 49:17). According to Jerome, it is the *cerastes* (*cerastes cornutus* or *cerastes hasselquistii*), a blunt-nosed, two-horned, highly poisonous viper which lurks in the sand, to which it has a very striking resemblance. It is much dreaded on account of the deadliness of its venom and its ferocity. Tristram says: "I have seen my horse rear, and shake with terror, on descrying this little snake lurking in the depression of a camel's foot-mark." The characteristics ascribed to Dan as a tribal head make the identification of *Shephiphon* certain.

The *Eph'eh* (אֶפֶּה, Isa. 30:6; 59:5; Job 20:16) gets its name from the hissing sound it makes, and may be the *daboia*, but more than one species may have been included under the name. In Arabic the name is usually given to the Algerine viper (*echidna arietans*), a small but very malignant serpent.

The word 'Akhshub (אֲחִישׁוּב, once only, Ps. 140:4) is translated "adder," but this is only a guess, for there is no root

¹¹ It is not impossible that the Greek *python* is from some form of this word. For *python* there is no derivation to be found in Greek (cf. Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*).

¹² This is the common Arabic name for serpent and is cognate to the word for life. In Egypt the name has become limited to the cobra or uræus.

¹³ In an old commentary on this passage it is gravely related that the asp has been known to put the point of its tail in one ear and lay the other on the ground to keep itself from being charmed.

available from which a suitable meaning may be derived. The versions all agree that some kind of a serpent is meant, but the Targum rendering is "spider" (עכוריט, Heb. עכביש), which may be the correct reading. The spider and serpent are paralleled in another passage (Isa. 59:5).

The name Qipoz (קִפּוֹז, once only, Isa. 34:15) is translated by the A.V. as "great owl," but from the Arabic *Qiffazatun* it is now known to be the arrow snake (*eryx jaculus*), a reptile very common and harmless, but exceedingly rapid in its movements, hence its name.

Serpents are sometimes referred to as *Zohelim* (זחלים, "creepers," Deut. 32:24, "creepers in the dust;" Mic. 7:17, "creepers on the earth").¹⁴ The name comes from a root meaning to withdraw or retire (cf. Job 32:6). When Adonijah sought to make himself king, he went to the stone *Zohelath* to complete his preparations and be crowned (1 Kings 1:9). Some connect this name with Saturn (called in Arabic *Zuhal* because of its remoteness); but actual worship of so specialized a form did not exist in Israel at this early date. The name means "Serpent Stone;" and was most probably applied to it because of its shape or markings, and hence from very early times it would be regarded as sacred. It thus became a landmark and a common meeting-place for the transaction of business and the taking of oaths.¹⁵ If the serpent was the totem of the Davidic house, as is claimed by Robertson Smith, then by that family *Zohelath* would be regarded with special veneration.

The most dreaded of all the serpents mentioned in the Old Testament is the *Siph'oni* (צִפְּוֹנִי, Isa. 11:8; 59:5; Jer. 8:17; Prov. 23:32; צִפְּ, a collective form, Isa. 14:29). The English version translates by "adder" with variant "cockatrice" (A.V.) or "basilisk" (R.V.). Because of the fear in which it was held most commentators now take it to refer to the yellow viper, *Daboia Xanthina*, the largest and most feared of the reptiles of Palestine. The *Daboia* is peculiarly an Indian species and is almost the same as the dreaded *Tic-polonga* of Ceylon (*D. Russelii*). The objection to this identification is the mention of the eggs of the *Siph'oni* (Isa. 59:5), whereas the *Daboia*, being

¹⁴ Duhm suggests that in Ps. 91:13 *zohel* should be read instead of *shahai*, but there seems no need of such an emendation. As it stands it gives a good parallelism with the second part of the verse.

¹⁵ Cf. the common use of plighting stanes in Scotland in former days.

a viper, does not lay eggs.¹⁴ Because of this Riehm identifies it with the *Tarbophis fallax*, a very pretty nocturnal snake which sometimes attains to the length of three feet.¹⁷ It is, however, non-poisonous, and cannot be the serpent meant. Riehm says it was believed to have the power of spitting its venom, and was thus the object of much dread. While myths like this may have been believed about it, still it was too common a reptile to inspire such fear as is implied in the Old Testament without any cause. What the Revisers meant by "basilisk" is not clear. Many commentators have, or seem to have, a vague impression that there is somewhere in Africa a small but most deadly viper, of this name which is meant. But neither in Africa, nor anywhere else is there a serpent known by this name.¹⁸

If we understand by "basilisk" what the A.V. means by "cockatrice," we have most probably the correct meaning. The *Siph'oni* was a serpent with fabulous powers for evil.¹⁹ The myth of the basilisk came to the Greeks from Egypt or Assyria, as it must have taken its rise among peoples accustomed to very poisonous reptiles. The myth would certainly be an accepted belief in Palestine. Some have taken the name to be identical with *Typhon*, the name of the evil dragon or serpent, the enemy of the good gods of Egypt. There is a striking similarity between the names. As no good derivation has yet been found in the Semitic languages, the word is in all likelihood a foreign one and may easily be the same as *Typhon*. In Isa. 11:8 the word translated "den," R.V., is *me'urath*, the feminine of *ma'or*,

¹⁴ Vipers are ovo-viviparous, i. e., they retain the eggs in their bodies until they are hatched. It may be said that misbeliefs about serpents are very common, and the writer of this chapter being in Babylonia such a mistake is to be expected. Even writers of today fall into the same error. Cheyne on this passage says: "They brood purposes as deadly as vipers' eggs." The Old Testament writers seem, however, to be well acquainted with the habits of snakes; e. g., they always speak of the serpent biting, not stinging (in Prov. 23:32 the verb means "to pierce," not "to sting").

¹⁷ Called by Germans *Katsenschlange*; by Riehm, *Ailurophis vivax*; by Tristram, *Tachymenis vivax*. I use the name given in the British Museum catalogue.

¹⁸ No serpent called "basilisk" appears in any zoological list or good dictionary which I have been able to consult. The only animal known by this name is a small American lizard of the family *Iguanidae* which has on its head a hollow crest inflatable at will.

¹⁹ The basilisk (Gk. *basiliscos*, Lat. *regulus*), "little king," was a small serpent, but the king of all reptiles "because of his stately pace and magnanimous mynde." It went half upright, and had a coronet upon its head. The deadly power of its poison was such that shrubs were withered and stones broken by its breath. It killed by its piercing glance. The name "cockatrice" is a corruption of the Med. Lat. *calcatrrix*, and from the name came the belief that it was hatched by a serpent or a toad from a cock's egg. The attributes of the cockatrice were the same as those of the basilisk.

"a luminary" (Gen. 1:14), and, if the correct reading, must refer to the gleaming eye of the basilisk or to its coronet.²⁰

The Saraph serpents are mentioned three times (Numb. 21:5-9; Deut. 8:15; Isa. 14:29). If the name be not of foreign origin, it comes from a root meaning "to burn" (Gen. 11:3; 2 Chron. 16:14; Isa. 44:16). It is generally held that it is given to them because of their bite, and hence may describe any serpent. This is most unlikely. The same name is applied to the divine attendants in the vision of Isaiah and cannot there refer to biting, but to the appearance of the beings. The name is most likely given to the serpents for the same reason. From the name, and because the "cherub" was at first probably the thunder-cloud (*cf.* Ps. 18:11), it may be concluded that the "seraph" originally indicated the lightning, the serpent of the sky. In course of time the name was applied to certain serpents, presumably with a mythical reference. The "flying serpent" of Isa. 14:29 is evidently some reptile more or less mythical; probably a dragon of some kind. Herodotus mentions an invasion of Egypt by flying serpents, which shows that the Arabian desert was believed to be the home of such reptiles.²¹

The name *Tannin* (תנין) is used when the writer speaks of some creature of the reptile kind of which he has no very clear knowledge. It is large, powerful, and poisonous, but he knows little of its actual attributes, size, and shape. Among the creatures made on the fifth day are the "great *tanninim*," or sea-monsters, but the writer knows nothing more about them. In Exod. 7:9 (*cf.* 4:3) and Ps. 91:13 the *tanninim* are evidently some kind of serpent; in Isa. 27:1, 51:9; Pss. 74:13, 148:7; Job 7:12, they are mythical dragons. In Deut. 32:33 the poison of *tanninim* is spoken of, and the reference may be either to dragons or semi-fabulous serpents.

SYMBOLISM OF SERPENT.

In the Old Testament the serpent is almost exclusively the type of evil of some kind. In the New Testament this is intensified, and the worst name the Apocalypse can apply to the "devil"

²⁰ It is suggested that the word is a corruption, or dialect form, of מִסְרָה (Gen. 19:30), or better מִסְרִיחַ, Jer. 21:13.

²¹ The belief that a serpent can throw itself for a considerable distance at the object it desires to strike, and so may be called a "flying serpent," dies hard, as all superstitions and misbeliefs do (see *Imperial Dictionary of the Bible*). The thing is impossible.

is to call him an "old serpent"—a name implying all evil and mischief. The only clear exception in the whole Bible is in the language of the Christ himself, who points to the serpent as a source from which disciples may learn wisdom.

The serpent is itself the author of all evil (Gen., chap. 3); it is the type of the wicked (Isa. 59:5; Pss. 58:5, 140:4); of treachery, deceit, and lying-in-wait (Gen. 49:17); of desolation (Isa. 34:15); of degradation (Mic. 7:17). Serpents are the instruments of God's punishment (Numb. 21:6; Isa. 14:29; Jer. 8:17; Amos 5:19; Job 20:16). The food and drink of the wicked are likened to the poison of the serpent (Deut. 32:33; Job 20:14); also wine itself (Prov. 23:32). The glory of the messianic reign is figured forth in the saying of the prophets that even the most deadly serpents shall then be harmless (Isa. 11:8; Ps. 91:13). In Jesus ben Sirach (21:2) the serpent is the type of sin itself:²² "Flee from sin as from a serpent; if thou comest nigh it, it will bite thee."

Rods were turned into serpents on two occasions in the preparation for the exodus; once by God for Moses (Exod. 4:3 *sqq.*), and again by Aaron and the sages of Egypt in a contention between them (Exod. 7:9 *sqq.*).²³ The two narratives are very different. The story of Moses is simple and dignified, and has a worthy purpose in the development of the history; that of Aaron and the wise men resembles ordinary folklore stories of contests between magicians. The former narrative is by J, the latter by P, which may account for the different names used; but the name *tannin* (7:9 *sqq.*, LXX, *δρακόν*), is more likely used to give the idea of some kind of monster, serpent, or dragon, which could swallow up the dragons of the other wonder-workers. The fact that the magicians performed the same feat shows that the action of Aaron was not regarded by the writer or reader as specially divine or supernatural. The narrative seems to lack that high moral purpose which we always expect in any divine interference with the ordinary course of nature.²⁴ The serpent has no symbolism in either case.

²² The meaning of Jer. 46:22 is very obscure. The text is manifestly corrupt, and the Masoretic reading impossible.

²³ One of the most common feats of an Arab serpent-charmer is to turn the *haysse* serpent into a stick, i. e., to throw it into a hypnotic, rigid condition. It is said that this is done by the juggler pressing the nape of the viper's neck in a certain way.

²⁴ It is noteworthy that there is no exhibition of fear when these monsters appear. Cf. Exod., chap. 4.

The fiery serpents.—The story of these reptiles (שָׂרָפִים, Numb. 21:5-9) is extremely difficult of explanation, if it is to be taken literally in all its parts. This difficulty has been felt by both rabbinic and Christian interpreters. Neither of these have given much attention to the essential questions, but have been generally content to draw some lessons from the story, or to find some allegorical meaning in it. The making of an image is in direct opposition to all the divine Torah to Israel, the aim of which was to root out all empty symbolism and fetish veneration. Therefore for God to command that a serpent's image should be made to be revered is so inconsistent as to be unbelievable. If *Nehushtan* (2 Kings 18:4) was this image, it simply shows that the inevitable in the then condition of religion in Israel happened—the miracle-working image became a god.²⁵

The story divides itself into two parts: (1) the sending of the serpents as agents of divine vengeance; (2) the making of a bronze image to heal the bitten ones. The first part (vss. 5-7) has every appearance of being founded on an actual occurrence. When it is said God sent serpents, it is merely the Semitic equivalent of our statement: it happened in God's providence. The event may or may not have been miraculous; the Semites did not distinguish. Serpents venomous and harmless are today quite plentiful in the Arabian Desert, and that they were so in ancient times we know from Esarhaddon, who says in his *Annals* that in his campaign against the Arabs his army marched for "twenty double leagues through a country where serpents and scorpions covered the ground like grasshoppers." There is also a tradition that Alexander lost many soldiers by snake-bite.²⁶ It is, however, contrary to the nature of serpents to attack men in the manner here represented, although the poison serpents are very easily stirred up to anger.

Three explanations of the narrative may be offered: (1) During their wanderings the Israelites came into a district infested with venomous serpents, and many of the people were bitten and died.

²⁵ The serpent was regarded by many peoples as a suitable symbol of God. It was so in Egypt. Primitive peoples are almost bound up to the use of animal similes for the deity. We can the more readily understand this when we remember that Christians yet use animal figures to represent God, and use animal names in addressing Him, as in the *Agnus Dei*, and "Come Holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove." Neither the sheep nor the dove are remarkable for special powers, as are the bull and the serpent. The use of the dove image comes probably from the misunderstanding of a simile; the flight, not the spirit, was like a dove.

²⁶ Strabo, 15:2:7.

According to Semitic theology, this must have been a visitation of God for the sins of the people, and the murmuring against the manna appeared to them to be an adequate cause. (2) These serpents were specially and supernaturally prepared of God for this purpose. When we take into account the Semitic mode of expression, this view requires no consideration. (3) The plague was the outbreak of some disease, the symptoms of which resembled serpent-bite. As an exact remembrance of the character of the pestilence was lost, it came to be regarded as an attack of real serpents. If this view be correct, then what the disease was cannot now with certainty be ascertained. A very interesting, if not altogether convincing, theory is put forward by Hirsch in his *Historical and Geographical Pathology*.²⁷ According to him, the plague was an epidemic of the parasite commonly known as "guinea-worm" (*Filaria* or *Dracunculus medinensis*). This parasite is quite common in parts of Africa, India, and Arabia. It enters the body in drinking-water (some say through the pores of the skin), and attacks most frequently the legs and the feet. There is no social, racial, or other immunity from the attacks of this filaria.²⁸ The theory that the *seraphim* which attacked the Hebrews were *Filariae medinensis* receives some support from Plutarch, who states, on the authority of the geographer Agatharchides, that the dwellers by the Red Sea suffer from a serious malady due to "small serpents" (*δρακόντια μικρά*) which issue from the skin to gnaw the arms and legs, and retire underneath the skin if disturbed, causing intolerable pain.²⁹ It is impossible to decide absolutely between the first and the third of these explanations, but one or other of them must be correct.

The first part of the narrative shows the serpents as agents of vengeance—a rôle they frequently play in the traditions of many peoples. In the second part they have a character entirely different, but equally common. The serpent becomes the symbol, or agent, of healing.

Is the second section by the same hand, and from the same time, as the first? The whole account is ascribed by critics to

²⁷ *New Sydenham Society Transactions*, 1885.

²⁸ A member of the medical staff of Toronto University recently removed several of these worms from a missionary lately returned from Africa. The operation was difficult owing to the rapidity with which the filaria moved. Its snake-like movement as it passed from place to place under the skin could be easily observed.

²⁹ *Symposion*, 8, 9:3. It is noteworthy that the plague attacked the Israelites near the Red Sea.

JE, which simply means it is not by P. It stands in a P setting (vss. 4, 10, 11), being by that writer or school, so that it is of late date, in its present form. Vss. 5-7 are in the purest classical Hebrew and seem to belong to the earliest strata of J. It may be confidently asserted that vss. 8 and 9 are not so old, though there is nothing in them which can with certainty be declared to be late Hebrew. The *waw* with the perfects may be explained as consecutives, and the forms to be conditional imperfects: "So it would be, if the serpent had bitten a man he would look at the bronze serpent, and would live." Such a construction is very rare in early Hebrew; it is doubtful if there be any parallel to this passage so taken, and the וַיִּרְאֵהוּ with which vs. 9b opens seems certainly to be late; early Hebrew would have said וַיִּרְאֵהוּ. The conclusion one draws is that vss. 5-7 give an old and accepted tradition, which was incorporated by J, while vss. 8 and 9 were added later, for some special purpose, or from an independent source.

Nehushtan.—The story of the bronze serpent has a very close connection with *Nehushtan*, a greatly venerated image, destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Kings 18:4). The verse in Kings, which is the only reference to *Nehushtan* there is, is certainly very much later than its context which it interrupts to illustrate. The demonstrative pronoun with which it opens points to this, and marks the verse as having been originally a marginal note or comment, which was later incorporated into the text. The employment of perfects with simple *waw* makes its late origin assured. This does not destroy the historical character of the narrative, for such a cult as this serpent worship cannot be the invention of a writer.³⁰

This image manifested its divine power as images always have done, and yet do by acts of healing. Its worship would be participated in by Yahweh-worshippers seeking healing, although it was certainly no part of the religion of Yahweh. It was probably some Canaanitic cult or fetish adopted by the Judaites. Kittel thinks the image was placed in the temple by Ahaz, who was fond of innovations, and who perhaps received it from the Assyrians (*cf.* 2 Kings 16:10); but the time between Ahaz and Hezekiah

³⁰This verse shows us how little we know of the actual condition of popular religion in Israel. By the merest accident we learn of an extended and popular serpent-worship in Judah maintaining itself until late times. A copyist or editor drawing upon his knowledge of tradition gives in a note some illustrations of Hezekiah's zeal for Yahweh, and in doing so gives us a wonderful glimpse into Israel's practical faith.

is too short to permit it becoming a national idol enshrined in the affections of the people, as is implied by the narrative. It was most likely a wonder-worker among the Canaanites before the Hebrews entered the land. These allurements of its worship and the proofs of its divinity proved too strong for these immigrants, and it became to them also a god of healing. It may have been the chief idol of Jerusalem, and remained there after David took the city and made it his capital; or it may have been removed to the temple by an early king, perhaps Solomon himself, in order to add popularity to the shrine which the kings desired should be the center of the national religion. Robertson Smith accounts for the place of this image in the temple by making it the totem symbol of the royal family. It is, however, the totem animal that is worshiped, not its symbol; and this theory leaves the healing power of the image unaccounted for, as also the widespread homage it received. The reigning house might favor the image because it was of the serpent totem, but this does not explain the origin of the idol.

The rise of prophecy with its apprehension of the spirituality of God placed the non-Yahwistic cults and superstitious practices in Israel upon their defense, when doubtless many "great and strong arguments" were built upon very slender foundations of old tradition, or upon none that existed outside the imagination of some clever apologist. The defenders of *Nehushtan* would be especially hard pressed. They had to endure more than the general polemic, for the story of the fall had begun to circulate, and it was of a kind to appeal to the imagination of the people. If *Nehushtan* is to maintain its place, authority must be had for it, and none less than Moses would be effective. Accordingly the old story of the serpents in the wilderness was expanded into a defense of *Nehushtan*.³¹

The Serpent of the fall.—The great question of how sin appeared among men made in the image of God is answered very simply by saying that God forbade the parents of the race to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in Paradise, but a serpent tempted them and they fell. The mystery of sin is explained by a mystery

³¹ Two other explanations are possible. The bronze serpent of Moses was invented in the reign of Manasseh when that monarch restored the serpent image, as he must certainly have done, unless the redactor or copyist of Kings who added 18:4 ascribed, through inadvertence, to Hezekiah's reign, reforms which really belonged to Josiah's (cf. 2 Kings 23:6). Or the explanation may have arisen later to account for such a strange thing in Israel as serpent-worship.

still greater, if the story is to be understood literally. Rabbinic, followed by Christian, interpreters have held that Satan, the constant enemy of God and king of all evil spirits, had either taken the appearance of a serpent, or had entered into the body of one and so approached the woman. Of such a belief there is absolutely no trace in the narrative, which treats of a serpent and that only. A serpent tempts; a serpent is punished. It is a common belief that *jinn* or spirits appear in animal forms, of which the serpent is more frequently chosen than any other;³² but the doctrine of the devil is too advanced for the time from which this narrative dates. Satan does not appear till very late in the Old Testament (Job 1:6; Zech. 3:1; 1 Chron. 21:1),³³ and the first identification of the serpent with Satan is in Wisdom 2:23, 24.³⁴

The idea of a struggle between good and evil is common to all peoples who have attained to any moral consciousness. For a non-philosophical people the abstract is too difficult to apprehend, and all things are personified. Evil has thus always taken a definite form, preferably that of a serpent.³⁵ The serpents or dragons are, however, always evil deities or spirits in that shape, and had the author of the story of the fall been writing what he desired to be taken as literal history, he would have made some mention of evil spirits, as the belief in them was universal. Since

³² To Moslems every serpent has a great deal of demon in it. *Jinn* and *ghul* are often employed as names for serpents (Quran, 27:10; 28:31); *Shaitan* is also so used. Cf. the common Christian belief of former days that the devil, disguise himself as he would, could never divest himself of the goat-hoofs.

³³ With 1 Chron. 21:1 cf. 2 Sam. 24:1, where it is said that it was Yahweh, not Satan, who incited David to number the people.

³⁴ In Talmudic theology Satan is called the "old serpent" (cf. Apoc. 20:21), because with him began history. Some held he was made at the same time as Eve, while others identified him with Sammael, the angel of death who, from being the highest throne-angel of God, fell by lust on seeing Eve. Three reasons for the temptation appear in the Talmud: (1) Satan desired to have complete control of the world (cf. Luke 4:6, and the story of Tiamat). (2) He was jealous because the human pair were ministered to by the angels of service. (3) He was enamored of Eve, and seduced her. The grosser explanation, being the more easily understood, was the most common. Cain was the son of Eve, and Satan and many other demons came into existence in the same way, though it is not clear whether the latter were children or grandchildren of Eve and the serpent. In some places, but not often or thoroughly, the Talmud rises to the view that the fall was rebellion against God, with no reference to a particular sin or a literal serpent (Weber, *Alt synagogale palästinische Theologie*, pp. 210 sqq.).

³⁵ In Egypt the enemy of good had generally the form of a serpent or dragon; and the great serpent Apep lay in wait beyond death to destroy souls on their way to the Elysian fields. In Babylonia, Tiamat was a dragon of most hideous aspect, and in the Vedas Trita fights with the serpent Ahi. In Zoroastrianism the idea of this struggle was very fully developed, but the serpent is merely one of the evil beasts, and it was not until influenced by Genesis that Ahriman takes the form of a serpent and brings the first human pair to destruction. The Babylonian and probably the Egyptian beliefs must have been known to J.

he does not, we must conclude that he simply chooses this mode of expression as the best means of conveying some great prophetic message.

The idea of the serpent and the tree of knowledge is not original with the writer. In Babylonian symbolism there is no object so common as the sacred tree, often with the symbolical number of seven branches, and guarded by Cherubim. In the literature so far discovered nothing corresponding to the fall has been found, but the part of the creation story where it would occur, if any tradition of it existed, has yet to be brought to light. An ancient cylinder has, however, been unearthed whose rude engraving shows two figures seated at a fruit tree, while behind one of them, from the dress evidently a woman, a serpent is standing. Some have denied that this has any reference to the story told in Genesis, but it seems obvious that the two belong to the same tradition.

Some critics find in the story of the fall two strata. In one the serpent is not evil but wise, and the initiator of mankind into knowledge, while in the other and later he becomes a tempter. As has been seen, the serpent was regarded by the Semites, as well as by other peoples as being the wisest of animals.* In Genesis the wickedness of the serpent is not expressly declared, while its superior wisdom is emphasized. The quality attributed to it is חָכְמָה a word of the same root as מְדַבֵּר the highly praised discretion, or power of discernment which is to be given to the simple, to those of open mind and needing instruction (Prov. 1:4); the condition in which Adam and Eve are described as being in before eating of the fruit. There is nothing to show definitely what is meant by the Babylonian picture, and it may well be, it represents, not the fall into sin, but the impartation of knowledge. There was a Babylonian myth about a dragon which issued from the sea to teach the first people wisdom, and from the continual appearance of the sacred tree we may perhaps infer that the original form of the story was connected with this serpent and the tree. A curious parallel appears in America, where among certain Indians the medicine tree—that is, the tree of knowledge rather than of healing—is inhabited by a serpent. Something like this was probably the form in which the

* The Chinese consider the serpent to be the symbol of supernatural wisdom, and ascribe to the kings of heaven serpent bodies.

myth reached the writer, but the impression he desires to convey is that the serpent was the symbol of evil, not good, which accounts for what appear to be two strata in the Genesis narrative.

The occasion for the narrative may be twofold: (1) to combat prevailing superstitions; (2) to unfold some prophecy. The writer is J—a man of Judah, as is generally acknowledged. He knew therefore of the widespread serpent-worship among his people—a cult which he would strongly oppose. He could deal no harder blow at serpent-veneration than by putting into popular form a story making the serpent the author and symbol of all evil.³⁷ But he has another and a higher purpose. The writer is a prophet of God, of wonderful insight into the moral conditions of things. He knows the way of sin; he sees man corrupted by its power; but he sees also that man should, and by God's help can, be conqueror over it.³⁸ Good, not evil, is the goal of mankind. Evil may bruise him as to the heel, but there is a divine enmity, an unquenchable warfare, appointed by God between man and sin, and the seed of the woman should and shall bruise the serpent's head. The great purpose of J in this allegory is to instruct man as to the real character of sin, to turn him from evil to good, and to inspire him with hope for the struggle.³⁹

Because the curse pronounced upon the woman is to be realized in child-bearing, it has frequently been held that the serpent represents the lusts of the flesh, and the first sin was of this class. The prophet's personal opinion cannot be known, but it is utterly alien to his purpose to convey such a meaning. He is dealing with sin in the abstract, as separation, and the cause of separation from God, and he makes the curse of sin what was regarded in his time as its most marked result. Time and again the Old Testament writers mention the pain of child-birth as a type of the greatest suffering.⁴⁰ This, then, was the woman's curse. In the same manner the curse of the man and the serpent are what was regarded as the greatest evil attending their life.

³⁷ The date of writing would then probably be in the time of Hezekiah. The developed form of prophecy in this passage would seem to point to a later date than the time of the first of the great prophets.

³⁸ Cf. Gen. 4:7.

³⁹ Because of the greatness of the prophetic torah in this chapter it seems impossible that the writer meant it to be taken literally. Since the time of Milton evangelical commentators have generally regarded Gen. 3:15 as the first prediction of the Christ. Calvin pointed out correctly that it does not refer primarily to the Christ but to mankind.

⁴⁰ Cf. Mic. 4:9; Isa. 13:8; 21:3.

Man had to work and sweat to wring the means of subsistence from the niggardly soil of Canaan, and it is the degradation of the serpent that he goes upon his belly." The malediction, "Dust thou shalt eat" could never be understood literally.⁴¹

Is the name given to the woman (*Hawwah*, Gen. 3:20) connected with the name for serpent in Arabic (*ḥayyat*) and in Syriac (*ḥewya*)? Wellhausen thinks the identity of the name of the first woman with the Arabic and Syriac is to be explained by some myth which gave Eve a serpent form.⁴² He quotes from a Syriac source which says: "Satan disguised himself as a serpent in order to look like Eve, and thereby cause her to sin, as one teaching a parrot to speak, talks from behind a mirror, so that the parrot thinks it is one like itself who is speaking." The Arabian dynasty of Edessa, the princely family of Taiji, and the kings of Abyssinia were supposed to be descended from serpents.⁴³ An additional argument for this hypothesis of Wellhausen might be found in the doctrines of some Gnostic sects. The Ophites, for example, revered the serpent, and regarded it as the world-soul, the mother of all. Such a doctrine could not be altogether new with the Gnostics, but was probably some old Syrian superstition, or myth given a philosophical dress. It is, however, very precarious to build so large an argument upon a name which may not after all come from an Arabic or Syriac source.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Cf. Sanskrit name *wraga*, "breast-goer."

⁴² Cf. Isa. 49:23; Psa. 72:9; 102:10.

⁴³ Among certain tribes in Africa the serpent is regarded as the mother of mankind, and among some North American Indians it is the symbol of the female principle (Emerson, *Indian Myths*, p. 380). *Ahuacoatl*, the name of the Mexican "all mother," is generally translated "serpent woman," but Brinton translates it "mother of twins." (Big Veda *Americanus*, p. 17.)

⁴⁴ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 4th ed., p. 313, note; *Recht*, 2d ed., p. 154.

⁴⁵ Robertson Smith (*Kinship*, 177) derives the name from the Arabic *ḥayy*, "a family;" and compares with it, 1 Sam. 18:18, "What am I or my *ḥayy*?" (i. e., my kinsfolk, or clan).

Critical Notes.

THE GREEK RENDERING OF DEUTERONOMY 16:20.

The impetuous ἡττηρ πταρ πταρ, said John E. McFadyen in his comparison of Hellenism and Hebraism,¹ which is one of the most characteristic things in the Old Testament, offered a stumbling-block to the Greek translator, whose tame equivalent is δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώξῃ. Yet this "tame equivalent" made deep impression on later writers. Not only Jerome preserved it in his Latin Bible, *juste quod justum est persequeris*, but many authors have quoted it. First of all Philo in a passage which nicely confirms the statement of Mr. McFadyen that the note of Hellenism is balance, that he cannot even look virtue straight in the face, but has to define it as the mean between two vices. In the treatise *Quod deterior potiori insidiari soleat* Philo says: "One must not approach φρόνησιν πανοῦργως οὐδὲ σωφροσύνην φειδωλῶς οὐδὲ ἀνελευθέρως οὐδὲ θρασείας ἀνδρείαν οὐδὲ δυσιδαίμονας εὐσιβείαν οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐπιστήμη-
ων ἀνεπιστημόνως· ἐνοδία γὰρ ὁμιλογομένους ταῦτα πάντα. παρὰ καὶ νόμος κέται "δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώκειν," ἵνα δικαιοσύνην καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τοῖς συγγεγίστοις ἔργοις αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις μετερχώμεθα. With the verb μεταδιώκειν Philo alludes to it a second time."

But the Greek writer, who was, perhaps, most deeply impressed by this formula, was the worker-over of the *Didascalia*, the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Book II, chap. 5, he adds to the words from Exod. 23:3 and Deut. 1:17, *καὶ πάλιν Δικαίως διόψυ τὸ δίκαιον*.

In chap. 9 he quotes it as a word of the Lord: παρακούσας τῆς θείας καὶ κυριακῆς φωνῆς, λεγούσης· Δικαίως δάξτε τὸ δίκαιον. For κυριακῆς the codex of the Bodleian library has δειπνοτικῆς; another manuscript reads δίκαιος, not understanding the form δάξτε, which is changed into δάξῃ by the MSS. xy, and into δάξας by the first editor of the *Constitutions* (almost the same variations already in chap. 5).

A third time it occurs in chap. 47: μή προλήψῃ ἡ μονομερῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ὡς ὑπὲρ ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἢ θανάτου δόντες ἀπόφασιν· δικαίως γάρ, φησὶν ὁ θεός, δαΐζει τὸ δίκαιον; here again one MS. has δίκαιος, two δαΐζεις.

Holmes quotes further Origen (III, 825), Isidorus Pelusiota (368), Basilus (*Catena ad I.*), Cyril of Alexandria (I, 1, 288), Damasc. (II, 491), Theodoret, Ambrosius.

Origen comments on the passage, in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*:⁴ αἱ μὲν τίς ἐστιν δίκαιος, τὸ δίκαιον διώκει· οὐ μὲν αἱ τις τὸ δίκαιον

¹ *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. VIII, p. 21.

³ Mangey, I, 195; Cohn-Woodland, I, 202.

³ Mangoy, II, 414.

* XXVIII, 12: new Berlin edition, p. 403.

διώκει, δίκαιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος· ὅπερ συνήσεις ἐπιστήσας τῷ “Δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώξῃ,” εἶπερ μὴ μάτην τὸ “Δικαίως” προτέτακται τοῦ “Τὸ δίκαιον διώξῃ.” δυνατὸν γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ δίκαιον διώκειν, ἀλλ’ οὐ δικαίως . . . οἶμαι δ’ ὅτι ἀνάλογον τῷ “Δικαίως τὸ δίκαιον διώξῃ” λέγουτ’ ἄν· ‘σωφρόνως τὸ σῶφρον διώξῃ’ καὶ ‘ἀνδρείως τὸ ἀνδρείον διώξῃ’ καὶ ‘σοφῶς τὸ σοφὸν διώξῃ’ καὶ τὸ ἀνὰ λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν.

These are some examples of the use made by Greek writers of the “tame” Greek explication of Deut. 16:20. In the *International Commentary* the LXX rendering is not even quoted. If we had a much-needed work, which American industry might give us, viz., a *comprehensive concordance of Scripture quotations*, probably many more examples might be found, and it would be an easy and pleasant task to write a history of such and similar passages.⁵ The Berlin Academy gives good indices of Scripture quotations to almost every volume of the Greek Fathers which has appeared as yet. But we not only want to know the passages which a single Father or author quotes, but also the authors who quote this or that passage. I do not know of such a work based on the modern editions of the oldest writers; it would be a great boon for the history of exegesis as well as for textual criticism.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN.

⁵Of Latin writers Sabatier quotes: Hieron, l. 2, *contra Pelag.*, to. 4, col. 512a, and *Ennod. Ticin. Conc.*, to. 4, p. 1342d, besides Ambrosius, in *Luc.*, 1, t. i, 1272e.

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THE POETIC FORM OF PSALM XXIII.¹

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Psalm **23** is one of the classical texts in English literature. We find it in our primary readers,² and any attempt to depart from the Authorized Version (AV)³ of this poem is apt to be looked upon as ruthless iconoclasm. But the traditional text is in a very unsatisfactory condition, especially from a metrical point of view.

According to Bæthgen, in the new third edition of his commentary,⁴ v. 1 represents a trimeter, *i. e.*, a line with three beats;⁵ v. 2: a double-trimeter; vv. 3. 4: three hexameters;⁶ vv. 5. 6: four pentameters.⁷ Such a mixture⁸ is impossible.⁹ Nor does Bæthgen's conjecture commend itself, that נַפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבָּב *He restores*¹⁰ (or *refreshes*) *my soul*¹¹ should be translated *He leads me back*,¹² and combined with בְּמִעְלֵי צֶדֶק *in paths of righteousness*.¹³ Bæthgen renders: *He leads me back*¹⁴ *into right*¹⁵ *tracks*;¹⁶ but בְּמִעְלֵי צֶדֶק means *in paths of victory*,¹⁷ and refers to the victories¹⁸ of Judas Maccabæus¹⁸ about 165 B. C. The whole double-hemistich²⁵ *He leads me on paths of victory for the sake of His name*¹⁹ is an addition explaining the allegorical²⁰ language in the preceding lines. The *waters of comfort*²¹ and *meadows of verdure*²² symbolize the brilliant successes of Judas Maccabæus. In the same way the *valley of the shadow of death*,²³ or rather the *glen of gloom*,²⁴ refers to the Syrian persecutions. The foes, in the face of whom JHVH spreads a table for His people, are the Syrians.²⁵

Wellhausen remarked in the Polychrome Bible:²⁶ The shepherd tends the whole flock, not a single sheep.²⁷ JHVH is the shepherd of Israel,²⁸ not of the individual Israelite.²⁹ The title *shepherds* in the OT is regularly employed in the transferred sense of *shepherds of the peoples*,³⁰ *kings*.³¹ Any further interpretation of the imagery is modern. In c. 10 of the Fourth Gospel the term *shepherd* must be explained in the same way. The man with the sick lamb on his shoulder, in the Roman catacombs, is not Biblical; neither is the mother with the child.³²

Gunkel's³³ interpretation in his *Selected Psalms* seems to me just as unsatisfactory as his metrical arrangement. He gives the text in three irregular stanzas of 4, 7, and 8 lines, respectively.³⁴ The difficult *ושבתי* at the beginning of the last *משל* or double-hemistich³⁵ is read by Gunkel *ושבתי*, with *ש* for *ס*,³⁶ and translated *I walk about*. But the reading of the Received Text is correct.³⁷ We must read neither *ושבתי* *I shall dwell*,³⁸ nor the infinitive *ושבתי* and *my dwelling*,³⁹ although these interpretations are supported by all the Ancient Versions⁴⁰ and nearly all modern interpreters.⁴¹ *ושבתי בבית יהוה לארך ימים* means *I shall return into the house of Jahveh for ever and ever*.

This psalm seems to have been written about the beginning of 165 B. C., after Judas Maccabæus had gained a series of brilliant victories⁴² over the Syrian hosts sent against him, but it must have originated prior to the *הנחה*,⁴³ the Rededication of the Temple in Dec. 165 B. C. (1 Macc. 4, 56). Hengstenberg⁴⁴ said more than fifty years ago: The confidence expressed in this psalm is not childlike confidence; it is the confidence of an experienced fighter who has gone through numerous trials and knows what they mean, but who has also seen abundantly how JHVH in such cases gives comfort and help. This observation is quite correct, although Hengstenberg considered the psalm to be undoubtedly Davidic⁴⁵ and disapproved of all historical interpretations of the poem.⁴⁶

The objection that we should expect *אל בית יהוה*⁴⁷ (Duhm) instead of *ושבתי בבית יהוה* is not valid; *שוב ב* is stronger than *שוב אל*. The difference is the same as in the case of *אל בוא* and *בוא ב*,⁴⁸ or in Arabic, *دخل الى البيت* and *دخل في البيت*.⁴⁹ Ewald⁵⁰ stated correctly that *שוב ב* was equivalent to *שוב ובוא ב*. The phrase *אל בית יהוה*

would mean *I shall go back to the Temple*, while *ושבתי בבית יהוה* is equivalent to *I shall re-enter the Temple*. The verb *שוב* is construed with *ב* in several passages. In Ps. 7, 17 we read: *שוב עמלו בראשו* *on his own head his mischief returns*, and in 1 K 2, 33: *ושבו דמיהם בראש יואב* *Let their blood return upon the head of Joab*. In the interpolation Hos. 12, 7 *ואתה באלהיך תשוב* does not mean *Thou wilt return (through, i. e.) with the help of thy God*, as Wellhausen⁵⁰ explains, but *thou wilt return into thy tents (i. e., thy dwellings)*. We must, with Marti,⁵¹ read *באֵהֱלֶיךָ*; so, too, in v. 10. The correct rendering *I shall return* was given by J. D. Michaelis,⁵² Paulus,⁵³ Knapp, Maurer, Köster, Vaibinger, Baur,⁵⁴ and Franz Delitzsch.⁵⁵

Duhm⁵⁶ arranges Ps. 23 in five tetrastichs, or rather couplets of pairs of hemistichs,⁵⁷ with 3 + 2 beats.⁵⁷ This is the correct meter; but there are only four couplets, not five. Duhm prefixes to the clause *for Thou art with me* an additional hemistich *Even at night I am not afraid*, *גם-בְּלֵילָה לֹא אֶפְחָד*. Cheyne⁵⁸ inserted in the same passage the clause *No unseen foe shall hurt me*, adding in the Critical Notes (p. 378) that the structure of this artistic poem required some addition here.⁵⁹ But these additions are superfluous; the clause *for thou art with me* is merely a prosaic explanatory gloss to the following line *Thy staff and Thy (shepherd's) crook,—they give me courage*, just as v. 3^b (*He leads me on paths of victory*¹⁷ *for the sake of His name*)¹⁹ explains the allegorical language in the preceding lines.²⁰ V. 3^a (*He restores my soul*, or rather *He freshens my spirit*)¹¹ represents the shorter hemistich of the first line: *Jahveh is my shepherd, I lack nothing*.¹⁰⁸ In the second line the two hemistichs of the *גִּשְׁלִי*²⁵ must be transposed:⁶⁰ *on meadows of verdure* should follow *By waters of comfort He rests me*.⁶¹ *יְרֵבִיצֵנִי הוּא* *He causes me to lie down*¹¹⁰ after *meadows of verdure* is a prosaic gloss to *יְהַלֵּנִי* *He rests me*,⁶² which, as Friedrich Delitzsch showed more than twenty years ago,⁶³ corresponds to the Assyrian *uṣnā'il*.

If we eliminate these superfluous scribal expansions, and restore the shorter hemistichs of the first two lines to their proper place, we obtain four couplets of pairs of hemistichs³⁵ with 3+2 beats, which must be grouped in two sections,⁶⁴ each comprising two couplets. The second half begins with *Thou spreadest before me a table*. There is no abrupt transition from JHVH's flock resting

by waters of comfort on meadows of verdure to the table spread in face of the foes. The second section introduces a climax: the Maccabees not only suffer no want but are comfortable and secure under the guidance of the Shepherd of Israel. Although they face their foes, they are actually feasting: a table is spread, their cups are brimful, their heads are anointed as though they were banqueting⁶⁵ in times of peace, just as Ecclesiastes (9, 7. 8) says:

Go, eat thy bread with pleasure,
and drink thy wine with cheer;
And white be all thy garments,
and oil for the head unfailing.⁶⁶

It is as though General Stoessel, during the heroic defense of Port Arthur, had invited his officers, in full dress, to a champagne supper. Wellhausen remarked in the Polychrome Bible: The words (*Thou spreadest before me a table in the face of my foes*) might be spoken of citizens besieged, who, although access to them is cut off, are better supplied with food than the besiegers. But the Maccabees were not besieged at that time, they were the besiegers.⁶⁷

The Hebrew text of Ps. 23 should be read as follows:

3 ^a . 1	יהוה רעי לא־אֶחָזֵק	[נַפְשִׁי יִשְׁוֹבֵב] ¹⁰
2	{עַל־מִי בִנְיָהוּ ⁶⁸ יִנְהַלֵּנִי	{בִּנְאוֹת דָּשָׁא ²² }; [] ⁸
4	גַּם־כִּי־אֶלֶךְ בְּגִיא ⁶⁹ צִלְמוֹת ⁷⁰ לֹא־אִירָא רֵעִי	לֹא־אִירָא רֵעִי ⁷⁰
	שִׁבְטִי וְיִשְׁעִי עֲנִידִי	הִנֵּה יִנְהַלֵּנִי ⁷²
5	תַּעֲרֹךְ לִפְנֵי שֹׁלֵחַן	נֶגֶד צָרִי
	דִּשְׁנֹתָ ⁷³ בְּשִׁמְךָ רִאשִׁי	כּוֹסִי ⁷⁴ רוּחַ ⁷⁵
6	אֶךְ־טוֹב וְחֶסֶד יִרְדְּפוּנִי	כִּלְיֵי הָרִי
	וְשִׁבְתִּי בְּבֵית יְהוָה	לֹאֶךְ יָמִים :

(a) 2 ירביצני

(b) יִנְהַלֵּנִי¹¹ במעגלי צֶדֶק¹⁷ לִמְעַן¹⁹ שְׁמִי :

(c) 4 כִּי־אֶתָּה עֲמִידִי

In my paper on David's Dirge⁷⁶ I have stated that the majority of the Hebrew psalms belong to the Maccabean period (about 170-70 B. C.). I have not discovered any pre-Exilic psalm. The prototypes of the hymns in the Hebrew Psalter are the cuneiform hymns and penitential psalms,⁷⁷ just as I showed some years ago that the Levitic ritual was influenced by Babylonian institutions.⁷⁸ It is interesting to see how easy it is to translate a Hebrew psalm into Assyrian.⁷⁹ A metrical Assyrian version⁸⁰ of Ps. 23 would read as follows:

1. 3^a Iāma⁸¹ re't, ul-āmmuṣ⁸² napišti ušbarri⁸³
 2 Eli-mē tapšaxē⁸⁴ ušnā'alanni,^a ina-ugare⁸⁵ diši.^{86 β}
- 4 Ina-nērib⁸⁷ eṭti⁸⁸ allāk⁸⁹-ma limutta⁹⁰ ul-āddar^{91 γ}
 Šibirruka⁹² u⁹³ xuṭartuka⁹⁴ libbi utākkalū.⁹⁵
- 5 Ana-āši paššūra⁹⁶ tarākas⁹⁷ ina-māxar ābē'a⁹⁸
 Rešū'a ina-šamni tapšuš⁹⁹-ma kāsi⁹⁹ idāxad.¹⁰⁰
- 6 Taḫtu u-damiqtu irādū-ni¹⁰¹ kal ūmē'a¹⁰²
 Ana-biti ša-Iāma atār ana ūme ṣāti.¹⁰³

(α) 2 ušarbaṣanni

(β) 3^b ina-urxe liti uštešaranni aššu šumišu

(γ) 4 aššu-atta itti'a

I append an English version of this psalm in the meter of the Hebrew. Ps. 23, which pictures the cheerful confidence of Judas Maccabæus and his faithful followers about the beginning of 165 B. C.,¹⁰⁴ should be translated as follows:

1. 3^a JHVH is my shepherd, I lack nothing ;¹⁰⁵ [He freshens my spirit.]¹¹
 2 { } By waters of comfort²¹ He rests me,^a { } on meadows of verdure. { }^β
- 4 Though I walk through a glen of gloom,¹⁰⁶ I fear no harm ; γ
 Thy staff and Thy (shepherd's) crook,¹⁰⁷ they¹⁰⁸ give me courage.
- 5 Thou spreadest before me a table¹⁰⁶ in the face of my foes,²⁵
 Thou anointedst my head with oil, my cup runs over.
- 6 Nought but happiness and favor will follow me all the days of my life ;
 I shall return to the house of JHVH for ever and ay.¹⁰⁹

(α) 2 He causes me to lie down¹¹⁰

(β) 3^b He leads me on paths of victory¹⁷ for the sake of His name¹⁹

(γ) 4 For Thou art with me

A metrical rendering in German would read as follows:

1. 3^a *Jahvéh ist mein Hirt, nichts fehlt mir;* [Er belebt meinen Muth.]
 2 } } *Er lässt mich ruhn an friedlichen Wassern,*^a } *auf grünen Auen.* } ()^β
- 4 *Müssst' ich wandeln durch düstere Schluchten, ich fürchte kein Unheil;*
Dein Stecken und Dein Hirtenstab, sie flossen mir Muth ein.
- 5 *Du deckest für mich eine Tafel, vor meinen Bedrängern,*
Hast gesalbt mein Haupt mit Öl, gefüllt ist mein Becher.
- 6 *Nur Glück und Gunst folgen mir alle Tage meines Lebens;*
Zurück in Jahvéh's Haus kehr' ich für ewige Zeiten.

(a) 2 *Er lässt mich lagern*

(β) 3^b *Er fährt mich auf Siegesbahnen, Seines Namens wegen*

(γ) 4 *denn Du bist bei mir*

Notes.

(1) Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 27, 1904.

(2) See e. g., S. L. Arnold and C. B. Gilbert, *Stepping Stones to Literature*, a Second Reader (Chicago, 1902) p. 109.

(3) Note the following abbreviations: AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (continuing *Hebraica*) Chicago, 1895 ff.—alt. = as an alternative.—ASKT = Paul Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881).—AV = Authorized Version.—AV^m = Authorized Version, margin.—BCP = Book of Common Prayer.—E = Ethiopic Version.—Eccl. = Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) reprinted from the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 26, No. 2 (Whole No. 102).—G = Greek Version (LXX).—HW = Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896).—J (Jerome) = Vulgate.—J^H = *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* (ed. Lagarde, Lipsiae, 1874).—JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.—JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.—JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*.—KB = E. Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1889 ff.).—M = Masoretic text.—OT = Old Testament.—RV = Revised Version.—RV^m = Revised Version, margin.—S = Syriac Version (*Peshita*).—Σ = Symmachus.—SBOT = Paul Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colors, with notes* (Baltimore, 1893 ff.).—T = Targum.—ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Munich, 1886 ff.).—ZAT = Stade's *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen, 1883 ff.).—ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

(4) Friedrich Bæthgen, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1904) p. 68. Bæthgen would do well to pay more attention to American journals. He does not mention Dr. Stevens' critical commentary on the Songs of the Return (Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1894; see JHUC, No. 114, p.

121) in *Hebraica* 11, 1-100. 119-173; nor does he refer to my paper The Poetic Form of the First Psalm (AJSL 19, 129-142) and my notes on Pss. 2. 45 (AJSL 19, 134. 136; cf. ZDMG 58, 629, n. 22; 630, n. 36) or to the paper on Ps. 2 in JHUC, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 90. This has been overlooked also by Gunkel (see below, n. 33) as well as by E. Baumann and E. Sievers in their papers on Ps. 2 in ZDMG 58, 587-595 and 864-866.

(5) Cf. C. A. Briggs' remarks on Hebrew poetry in *Hebraica* 2, 164; 3, 152; 4, 65. 129. 201. Instead of dimeter, trimeter, &c. it would be better to use the terms dipody, tripody, &c. Cf. my remarks referred to below, n. 7.

(6) It is true that we find occasionally 3×2 beats (3 dipodies) instead of 2×3 beats (2 tripodies); cf. e. g. Eccl. 1, 2; 3, 1; 9, 2; 4, 17; 12, 1; see Paul Haupt, *Kohleth oder Weltschmerz in der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1905) and my *Eccl.* (see above, n. 3) n. 30 to the Introduction. But this shifting of the cesura is late. Cf. E. Sievers' remarks on *Cäsurverdeckung* und *enjambement* in his *Alttestamentliche Miscellen* (Leipzig, 1904) pp. 159. 188 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Saxony).

(7) The name קִינָה meter is a misnomer; see my remarks in AJSL 20, 165, n. 9.

(8) Sievers' view that Hebrew poems often exhibit mixed meters (*Mischmetra* or *Wechselmetra*) seems to me untenable. There are, of course, some cases in which lines with $2+2$ beats alternate with $3+3$ beats (see my remarks on the Song of Lamech in AJSL 20, 164) but, as a rule, the apparent variations in the number of beats &c. are due to corruption of the text. See E. Sievers, *Studien zur hebr. Metrik* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 129 and compare my remarks in the abstract of my paper *Die Form der biblischen Liebeslieder* in the Transactions of the Thirteenth Oriental Congress (Leyden, 1904) p. 224. See also Beer's remarks on the alleged *Mischmetra* in the Psalms, in his review of the third edition of Bæthgen's commentary in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 30, 99. Sievers has not given a metrical analysis of Ps. 23.

(9) Bæthgen's metrical analysis seems to be based on J. Ley's *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebr. Poesie* (Halle, 1887) p. 47 (cf. p. 15 of the Hebrew appendix to Ley's book). According to Ley Ps. 23 consists of three stanzas preceded by an introductory verse (v. 1). Each of the first two stanzas (i: vv. 2. 3; ii: v. 4) comprises two hexameters, while stanza iii (vv. 5. 6) is composed of two decameters. But there are no decameters in Hebrew poetry: Ley's decameters are couplets of double-hemistichs with $3+2$ beats (cf. above, n. 7, and below, n. 35). In his *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebr. Poesie* (Halle, 1875) p. 222 Ley arranged the text of Ps. 23 in five decameters, grouped in three stanzas: i (vv. 1. 2) = one decameter; ii (vv. 3. 4) = two decameters; iii (vv. 5. 6) = two decameters. Ley's stanza i has really 3×3 beats, not 10: the negative in לֹא אֲדַכֶּה is unaccented (so correctly in Ley's *Leitfaden*). Nor was the arrangement of stanza ii satisfactory: Ley printed it (1875) in three lines consisting of $2+3+2$;

4+4; 3+2, i. e., 7+8+5=20 beats. For other arrangements of Ps. 23 in three stanzas cf. below, n. 34.

(10) Cf. מְרַבֵּב *restorer*, Is. 58,12. For נְחִיבוֹת we must, with Lagarde, Oort, Klostermann, Cheyne, Marti, read נְחִיצוֹת (against Kittel, Duhm).

(11) That is, *He freshens my spirit*, gives me new strength, not *He shall convert my soul*, as BCP renders, following $\text{א} \text{animam meam convertit}$ (3^H , correctly, *refecit*) = $\text{א} \text{הָן פִּשְׁחִי מוֹן יְפִי־רָפֵשׁ}$. The Psalter in BCP is derived from the Great Bible which was issued in the spring of 1539. $\text{א} \text{נַפְשִׁי יִתְחַבֵּב בְּמִנָּה}$, $\text{א} \text{لَعَمْرُ اِءِء}$. According to A. B. Ehrlich, *Die Psalmen* (Berlin, 1905) נַפְשִׁי יִתְחַבֵּב means *Er lenkt meine Wünsche*. Cf. Beer's review of Ehrlich's book in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 30, 132.

(12) Bæthgen refers to Jer. 50,19 (cited in Hitzig's commentary) וְיָבִיִּי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־בֵּיתָהּ *I will bring Israel again to her pasture*.

(13) So BCP, AV, RV, Hengstenberg, Schultz, Wellhausen, Ehrlich, Cheyne (1904; cf. below, n. 58) following $\text{א} \text{ἐπὶ τῶν ῥόδων δακτυλίου}$, $\text{א} \text{super}$ (3^H per) *semitas justitiae* ($\text{א} \text{صَمَلًا مَدْحًا}$, $\text{א} \text{בהלכות צדקה}$). Ols-hausen rendered: *innocence*.

(14) According to Bæthgen $\text{א} \text{יָהִי}$ between נַפְשִׁי יִתְחַבֵּב and בְּמִנָּה צֶדֶק seems to be a gloss or a scribal error, perhaps dittography of יָהִי־לִי (v. 2) or יָהִי־לִי (v. 4). But $\text{א} \text{יָהִי}$ is correct; nor need we point יָהִי־לִי (ZAT 16, 321). Bæthgen's combination of נַפְשִׁי יִתְחַבֵּב with בְּמִנָּה צֶדֶק (cf. below, n. 61) is not new; we find it in the Arabic versions of the Psalms edited by Lagarde: *Psalterium, Iob, Proverbia Arabice* (Göttingen, 1876). The first two of those versions (i. e., the text of the Roman edition of 1614 and the text of the Paris Polyglot) render $\text{א} \text{والى سبل البر رد نفسى وهدانى لاجل اسمك}$ (اسمك) *ua-ila subuli 'l-birri radda nafsi ua-hadāni li'ajli 'smika* (var. 'smihi). For the interchange between the second and the third persons cf. my remarks in ZDMG 58, 622, n. †.

(15) So, too, Duhm. The rendering *straight* is supported by Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Calvin, Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Grætz, Hupfeld.

(16) *Führt mich zurück (leitet mich) auf rechte Geleise*.

(17) For צֶדֶק *victory, triumph* (DeWette, Ernst Meier, Hitzig, Kamphausen, Ewald, Bickell: *Heil*) see my remarks on בְּצֶדֶק in the gloss to the Song of Vengeance, Is. 63, 1-6, in n. 24 to my paper on Babel and Bible, JHUC, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 50.

(18) The objection raised against the derivation of the name Mac-cabee from מַקָּבֶה *hammer*, that מַקָּבֶה does not denote a large sledge-hammer, but a smaller hammer, falls to the ground if we assume that Judas received this surname while he was a boy. *Was ein Hämchen werden will, krümmt sich bei Zeiten*. Judas Maccabæus was *mighty in strength even from his youth up* (1 Macc. 2, 66) ἐκ νεότητος αὐτοῦ . Contrast E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1901) p. 204. below.

(19) Cf. 1 Macc. 4, 11. The glory of His name would suffer, if His people were subdued. The heathen would say, Where is their God? and we, His people and the flock of His pasture, would become a scoff to our neighbors, the derision and scorn of those round about us; see Ps. 79, 4. 9. 10. 13 and cf. the note to my paper on the penitential psalm *De Profundis* in *Hebraica* 2, 100, below (January, 1886) and Dr. Stevens' commentary (see above, n. 4) in *Hebraica* 11, 127, below. Duhm's explanation, He leads me on right tracks for His name's sake, because He is צדיק, is not satisfactory. Paulus (see below, n. 53) remarked: לביק שבו *wie sein Name (der Begriff) Hirte es mit sich bringt*. According to Ehrlich¹¹ לביק שבו means: *damit nicht die Ausschweifung eines Schützlings JHVHes seinem göttlichen Namen Unehre mache*. He seems to use *Ausschweifung* in the sense of *straying*, wandering from the path of rectitude.

(20) Cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 38, l. 18.

(21) This is the translation given in BCP (= 3 *aqua refectiois*). In the same way Ewald, Kamphausen, and Hupfeld render: *waters of recreation and refreshment* (Luther, *zum frischen Wasser*; Bickell, *zur frischen Quelle*). AV has *the still water*. The rendering *still* (סל) (מַיִם יְדֵינָהּ ט, נְסִי) is supported by J. D. Michaelis,⁵² Gesenius, E. Meier, DeWette,⁵⁴ Hitzig, Grætz, Ehrlich.¹¹ AV^M: Heb. *waters of quietness*, RV^M *waters of rest* (that is, where it is good to rest). This is favored by Olshausen, Kautzsch, and Gunkel. But Heb. נָח *to rest* is used especially of the rest which JHVH gives His people by granting them possession of Canaan and victory over the neighboring heathen tribes; cf. Ex. 33, 14; Josh. 1, 13. 15; Deut. 3, 20. *Waters of comfort* symbolizes the comfort they feel after JHVH has given them rest from all their enemies round about, so that they dwell in safety (Deut. 12, 10; cf. 25, 19). The term בְּנוֹחָהּ is used especially of the peaceful settlement in Canaan after the troublesome wanderings in the desert (cf. Ps. 95, 11; Deut. 12, 9). The Syrian persecution was as troublesome as the wanderings in the desert; moreover, at the beginning of the Syrian persecution many of the orthodox Jews fled into the wilderness (1 Macc. 2, 29). After the desert of the Syrian persecution they enjoy now waters of comfort (i. e., tranquil enjoyment and freedom from anxiety) and meadows of verdure (fresh hopes for the future). The winter of their suffering is made glorious summer. Cf. also *Es lacht die Aue* in Wagner's *Parasifal*. ἔ has ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως, cf. κατάπαυσις Heb. 3, 11. 18; 4, 1. 3. 5. 10. 11 and κατέπαυσεν βομφαία ἐξ Ἰσραήλ 1 Macc. 9, 73; also ὁσύχασεν 1 Macc. 7, 50; 9, 57; 11, 38. 52; 14, 4. מַיִם בְּנוֹחָהּ is an intensive plural; cf. ZDMG 58, 623, l. 1. Cheyne (1904) reads יְהוָה מַיִם חַיִּים יְהוָה לִי To fountains of living waters Yahwè leads me to drink.

(22) Heb. דֶּשֶׁא means *fresh verdure, shoots from the seeds*, comprising all plants in their incipient stage, not *aftergrowth*, or *grass*, &c. See Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 64, l. 44.

(23) ἔ ἔσθ' ὁ θάνατος, 3 *umbra mortis*, טוֹלָא דְּמוֹתָא ט, שְׁלֵמָה. The traditional pronunciation צְלֵמָה has been defended by Nöldeke in

ZAT 17, 183 (1897); cf. Cheyne in *Hebraica* 1, 251 (1885) and Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode* (Giessen, 1892) p. 194, below. It is retained also by DeWette, Hitzig, Kamphausen, Ley, Cheyne, Delitzsch, Brown-Driver-Briggs, Grimme, and Nowack in his review of Gunkel's *Ausgewählte Psalmen* in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 29, 700 (Dec. 24, 1904). Delitzsch thinks that the word may have been originally צְלִמּוֹת. According to Kirkpatrick the traditional צְלִמּוֹת may be due to a popular etymology.

(24) We must read צְלִמּוֹת, or צְלִמּוֹת, as an intensive plural (cf. above, the remarks on מְנִיחָה at the end of n. 21) of a noun צְלִמָּה = Arab. ظلمة *zulme* (plur. ظلمات *zulumât*) Eth. ጸልሙት: *darkness* (cf. Assy. ṣalmu, fem. ṣalimtu *dark, black*). There is, of course, no connection between צְלִמּוֹת *darkness* and צֶלֶם *image*. The former has a צ, the latter a צ; see Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen (GGN) April 25, 1883, p. 92. For the plural *zulumât* see *ibid.*, p. 89, n. 3; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 377. For Arab. صم *ṣam* *image* (an Aramaic loanword) with *n* instead of *l*, cf. Arab. كنة *kannē* = Assy. kallātu *bride* (כלה); Ethiop. ቤንት: *bēnât* = Assy. bilat *tribute* (בִּלָּה Ezra 4, 13. 20; 7, 24); Arab. آبن *abbana* *to lament, mourn for, eulogize* (آبنه اذا مدحه بعد موته) = Heb. אָבַל; Arab. صحن *ṣaḥn* *dish, plate* (Eth. ጸሐፈ:) = Heb. צֶלֶח; Assy. xincā = חֲצִירִים (Arab. خضر *xaṣr*, pl. خصور, and خاصرة, pl. خواصر); see n. 104 to my paper on *Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual* (JBL 19, 77) and my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 27, n. 11 = AJSL 18, 217.

J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1891) p. 411, n. 3 conjectures that the original form of the word was צְלִמּוֹת, an abstract formation with the termination -ōth, like חֲכָמּוֹת; see, however, my remarks in *Crit. Notes on Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 34, l. 31; cf. JBL 21, 192. The majority of modern Hebraists read צְלִמּוֹת, e. g. Gesenius-Buhl, Siegfried-Stade, Ernst Meier, Olshausen, Hupfeld; Bickell, Kirkpatrick, Schultz, Kautzsch, Bachmann, Wellhausen, Gunkel; also Ehrlich.¹¹ According to Gunkel צְלִמּוֹת is a special term for Orcus; he refers to Job 10, 21; 38, 17 and Istar's descent to Hades, the Greek legend of Orpheus, &c. In the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (KB 6, 188, 29) Hades is called bit ekliti *the house of darkness* (הַבֵּית); cf. my remarks in *Crit. Notes on Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 35, l. 49; p. 33, l. 17.

(25) Cheyne,⁵⁸ p. 66 stated: The foes in v. 5 may well be national foes The speaker is any pious Israelite in whose mind both national and personal hopes and fears rest side by side. A national element in the psalm cannot be denied. In his Bampton Lectures (see below, n. 27) p. 319 Cheyne remarks, Ps. 23 cannot have merely a national reference, as some theorists have persuaded themselves, unless indeed the allegory

in John 10 can have a similarly restricted meaning. Contrast Wellhausen's remarks cited below, n. 32. The foes are certainly not worldly, rich aristocrats (Sadducees) as Gunkel supposes; contrast my remarks on רשעים, השאים, לצים in my paper on Ps. 1 (AJSL 19, 140). Nor can נגד צררי mean that the enemies must look on (*meine Feinde haben das Zusehen*), as Gunkel translates, following Duhm. Similarly Ehrlich¹¹ renders: *Du bereitest den Tisch für mich, dem meine Widersacher fern bleiben müssen*. Contrast Eccl. 5, 10 in my translations cited below, n. 42. Cheyne (1904) reads בקרב הצריך *within thy courts* instead of נגד צררי.

(26) J. Wellhausen, *The Book of Psalms* (New York, 1898) p. 174.

(27) Olshausen, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1853) p. 129 remarked, God's flock, not an individual, speaks. Similarly E. Reuss, *Das Alte Testament* 5, 91 (Braunschweig, 1893) says, The shepherd suggests a flock, not a single sheep (so, too, Bæthgen). Kirkpatrick, on the other hand, states in his notes on this psalm (in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, 1892) that its tone is strongly personal. In the same way Hitzig (*Die Psalmen*, 1863) believed that Ps. 23 was personal and that it referred to an individual, not to the congregation (so, too, Hupfeld and Gunkel); the poet was a priest or prophet, possibly Jeremiah (about 650–580 B. C.). Hitzig's view was endorsed by C. J. Ball in his *Jeremiah* (1890); contrast Cheyne's remarks in his Bampton Lectures, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (London, 1891) pp. 135. 250. According to Grætz (1883) Ps. 23 was written by a Levite at the time of Manasseh (692–638 B. C.) or Jehoiakim (607–597 B. C.). Duhm says, the author may have been a man like Simon (142–135 B. C.) or his third son and successor, John Hyrcanus (135–104 B. C.). Contrast below, n. 46. For the date of the psalm cf. below, n. 104.

(28) Cf. Ezek. 34, 11; Pss. 80, 2; 77, 21; 78, 52; Is. 40, 11; &c.

(29) Duhm's explanation that the psalmist celebrates JHWH as his shepherd on the path of life and as his host in the Temple is not satisfactory. Nor can we believe, with Duhm, that vv. 1–3^a is a reminiscence from Is. 49, 9. 10.

(30) Cf. the Homeric ποιμένες λαών.

(31) J renders: *Dominus regit me* (JH pascit).

(32) See J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 6 (Berlin, 1899) p. 171.

(33) H. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalme* (Göttingen, 1904) p. 52; cf. above, n. 25, and n. 22 to my paper *The Prototype of the Magnificat* (ZDMG 58, 629).

(34) According to Hengstenberg (1850) Ps. 23 consists of three stanzas, each stanza comprising two verses. DeWette-Baur (1856) assumed two stanzas: vv. 1–3 (6 hemistichs) and vv. 4. 5 (7 hemistichs) followed by a concluding verse (v. 6) which might be combined with the preceding stanza ii. Kamphausen in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (1863) arranged his translation of this psalm in three stanzas, viz. i: vv. 1. 2 (4 hemistichs)—ii: vv. 3. 4 (6 hemistichs)—iii: vv. 5. 6 (6 hemistichs). Also i

the third edition of Hupfeld's commentary (1888) we find three stanzas, each consisting of two verses, viz. i: vv. 1. 2 (3 hemistichs)—ii: vv. 3. 4 (6 hemistichs)—iii: vv. 5. 6 (6 hemistichs). For Ley's strophic arrangements of this poem see above, n. 9. According to the posthumous edition of Franz Delitzsch's commentary³⁶ Ps. 23 consists of two hexastichs with short concluding lines which may be compared to the Adonic verse of the Sapphic stanza. These two hexastichs are followed by a final tetra-stich with alternate long and short lines.

Reuss in his translation of OT, vol 5 (Braunschweig, 1893) p. 90 has five tristichs, while Bickell, *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 39 assumed five tetrastichs with alternate 3 and 2 beats. This has been adopted by Duhm, see below, n. 57.

Wellhausen (SBOT, 1895) has no strophic division; he prints the text in 15 lines of unequal length, representing either double-hemistichs (ll. 6. 10. 11. 14. 15) or hemistichs, or fragments of hemistichs (the opening hemistich, יְהוָה רֵדִי לֹא-אֶחָדָךְ, e. g. is printed in two lines). Ehrlich³⁷ follows Wellhausen's incorrect stichic arrangement; but he has 17 hemistichs instead of 15, לִמְקַדְשִׁי שָׁבוּ and נִגְדַּר צִירִי being correctly treated as separate hemistichs. The stichic arrangement in G is different, but just as inconsistent. Ginsburg arranges the text in 12 lines; the first four of them represent hemistichs, but the following eight lines are double-hemistichs. Similarly RV has 12 lines, four of which (ll. 1. 2. 3. 4. 6) are hemistichs, while the other eight lines are double-hemistichs. Kautzsch has no strophic division, just as J. D. Michaelis,³⁸ Hitzig, and RV have no blank lines in their stichic translations of this psalm.

(35) See n. 33 to my paper cited above, n. 33; cf. ZAT 11, 316; 12, 214; 13, 280.

(36) Contrast my note on כְּתִיר for שְׁתִּיר Cant. 2, 11 in Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 72 = AJSL 19, 18 and Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 181, l. 49.

(37) The reading וְשִׁבְתִּי was retained by Ley in his *Leitfaden* (1887). In his *Grundzüge* (1875) he read וְשִׁבְתִּי, with the accent on the penult. According to Franz Delitzsch וְשִׁבְתִּי בְּבֵית יְהוָה is a *constructio praegnans*: I shall dwell again (*Ich werde wiederkehren, im Hause Jahveh's wohnen*). DeWette's view that וְשִׁבְתִּי was a shortened form of וְשִׁבְתִּי (so, too, Hitzig, 1863; Ewald, 1866) was contested by Baur (1856). Hengstenberg considered וְשִׁבְתִּי to be the inf. of יָשַׁב (= וְיָשַׁבְתִּי); so, too, Kirkpatrick *alt.*

(38) So Grætz, *Emendationes*, 1893 (in his commentary, 1883, he said, וְשִׁבְתִּי stands for וְיָשַׁבְתִּי), Kautzsch, Bachmann, Wellhausen, Oort, Bæthgen, Cheyne (1904).

(39) So Duhm (*alt.* וְיָשַׁבְתִּי) and Ehrlich.³⁹

(40) E και τὸ κατοικεῖν με (E יֹשֵׁב : יֹשֵׁב : ut habitare facias me);
 1 και κατοικήσεις μου; 3 et ut inhabitem (3^H et habitabo), 4 אֶחָדָךְ
 a אֶחָדָךְ, Saadya ואֶחָדָךְ, Saadya ואֶחָדָךְ, Saadya ואֶחָדָךְ.

(41) For instance, Luther, AV, RV, Rosenmüller, Ernst Meier, Olshausen, DeWette, Hengstenberg, Hitzig, Kamphausen, Hupfeld, Ewald, Schultz, Bickell, Reuss, Cheyne, Kirkpatrick, Kautzsch, Wellhausen, Oort, Bæthgen, Duhm, Ehrlich.¹¹

(42) At Beth-horon, Emmaus, Beth-zur, &c. For the allusions in Eccl. 9, 13-18 to Antiochus Eupator's subsequent unsuccessful siege of Beth-zur (163 B. C.) cf. my *Kohleth* (see above, n. 6) p. 30, n. 9; and my *Eccl.* (see above, n. 3) n. 6 on VI.

(43) Cf. ZAT 22, 281. Ps. 118 is supposed by some to be the pæan sung when Judas' victorious army (Dec., 165 B. C.) entered the gates of the Temple (1 Macc. 4, 54); but it seems to me more likely that it commemorates the triumphal entrance of Simon, after the last outpost of the Syrians, the Syrian garrison in the Acra (the citadel of Jerusalem) had been starved into surrender in May, 142 B. C. (1 Macc. 13, 51). According to my investigations the chronological order of the principal so-called Messianic Psalms is as follows: Psalms 132 and 110 refer to Zerubbabel, of the House of David, and were written under the reign of Darius Hystaspis about 516 B. C. Ps. 72 seems to have been written in Alexandria when Ptolemy I. Lagi, at the ripe age of 82, abdicated in favor of his youngest son, Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, in 287 B. C. Ps. 16 originated at the beginning of the Maccabean rising in 167 B. C. Ps. 1 was written in 153 B. C., three years before the wedding of Alexander Balas and the Egyptian princess Cleopatra in 150, which is glorified in Ps. 45. Ps. 118 was written in 142 B. C., and Ps. 2 at the time of the coronation of Aristobulus as the first Hasmonean King of the Jews in 104 B. C. Ps. 23 must be placed between Ps. 16 (167 B. C.) and Ps. 1 (153 B. C.).

For Ps. 16 cf. my remarks in n. 60 to my paper on Moses' Song of Triumph (AJSL 20, 172); for Ps. 1 see AJSL 19, 135, n. 11, second paragraph; for Pss. 2, 45, 118 see my remarks referred to above, n. 4, and the translation of Ps. 45 in my *Eccl.*, n. 9 on III; for Ps. 72 cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 227, l. 36; for Ps. 110 cf. JHUC, No. 114, p. 110; and for Ps. 132 see Dr. Stevens' dissertation referred to above, n. 4 (AJSL 11, 91). Contrast J. Halévy's remarks on Pss. 2 and 110 in No. xxv of his *Recherches bibliques*.

(44) E. W. Hengstenberg, *Commentar über die Psalmen*, vol. 2, second edition (Berlin, 1850) p. 57.

(45) So, too, Franz Delitzsch (see below, n. 55).

(46) In the same way DeWette-Baur (1856) remarked: This psalm is free from all personal and contemporary references. Historical interpretations are out of place. Reuss, too, says (1893): This psalm requires no historical interpretation. Contrast above, n. 27.

(47) See my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 161, l. 43.

(48) See Socin's Arabic Grammar, fourth edition (Berlin, 1899) § 106. This remark is omitted in the fifth edition (Berlin, 1904) edited by Brockelmann.

(49) H. Ewald, *Die Psalmen und die Klagelieder*, third edition (Göttingen, 1866) p. 102.

(50) J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten*, third edition (Berlin, 1898) p. 19, below; cf. *ibid.*, p. 129 and W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten*, second edition (Göttingen, 1903) p. 75, below.

(51) K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Tübingen, 1904) p. 95, below. W. R. Harper, *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea* (Chicago, 1905) p. 41, below, renders: *So thou by the help of thy God shouldst turn back.*

(52) J. D. Michaelis, *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments mit Anmerkungen für Ungerlehrte*, part 6, *Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1782) p. 32: *Und ich kehre auf ewig zum Hause Gottes wider.*

(53) H. E. G. Paulus, *Philologische Clavis über die Psalmen*, second edition (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 152: *וְשִׁבְתִּי בַּיָּדַי* und ich werde zurückkommen in, zu, eis, von *יָדַי*.

(54) See G. Baur's note in DeWette's *Commentar über die Psalmen*, fifth edition (Heidelberg, 1856) p. 166, below.

(55) Franz Delitzsch, *Biblischer Kommentar über die Psalmen*, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1894) edited by Friedrich Delitzsch.

(56) B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen* (1899) in Marti's series; cf. his metrical version of the Psalms, published in the same year (Freiburg i. B., 1899).

(57) Bickell arranged his translation of Ps. 23 in this way more than twenty years ago; see above, n. 34. According to Ley's *Grundzüge* (1875) Ps. 23 consisted of five decameters = five double-pentameters (cf. above, n. 9). Cheyne⁵⁸ remarked: The rhythm is perhaps not uniform throughout; but there is a tendency to alternate trimeters (lines with three beats) and dimeters (those with two). Hubert Grimme in his *Psalmenprobleme* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1902) pp. 18. 37 adopts Bickell's and Duhm's view that Ps. 23 consists of lines with 3 and 2 beats, but he misscans them; see below, nn. 70. 71. Only the last but one line of the poem is read correctly by Grimme (*op. cit.*, p. 19).

(58) T. K. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1888). Cf. Cheyne's new work *The Book of Psalms, translated from a revised text, with Notes and Introduction* (London, 1904).

(59) Bickell inserted before *אֶתְּחַד עִבְדִּי כִי*: *Nicht beb' ich auf dem Wege.* Cheyne (1904) supplies *מִפְּעִיר לֹא־אֶדְאָג* *Neither lion nor young lion do I dread.*

(60) See my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 282, l. 5.

(61) Bickell inserted *בְּנֵאֻת* after *יְהוָה רֵעִי*, omitting *אֶת* and *דָּשָׁא*. He disregards the *סוּף פֶּסוּק* at the end of v. 2, combining *יִרְבִּיצֵנִי* with *עַל מִי מְנַחֵחַ יִהְיֶה לִּי*, whereas Bæthgen (see above, n. 14) combines *יִרְבִּיצֵנִי* with *נִפְטִי יִשׁוּבֵב*.

(62) According to Duhm *אֶת יִרְבִּיצֵנִי* is omitted in *Σ*, and *Σ κατεσκήνωσεν* (3 *collocavit*, 3^H *adclinavit*) is a variant to *ἐξέθρεψέν με* = *יְהַלְלֵנִי*; but *κατεσκήνωσεν* is the rendering of *יִרְבִּיצֵנִי*, and it is more correct than the rendering *ἐξέθρεψέν με* for *יְהַלְלֵנִי*. *Ε εἰς ἡδονήν* (*ἡδονήν*, 3 *educavit*, 3^H *enutrivit*) was followed by Hengstenberg, *pfllegt mich*; cf. Gen. 47, 17. *וְיִסְכֵּנִי*, *וְיִסְכֵּנִי*.

(63) See Friedrich Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language* (London, 1883) pp. 5. 6; *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) pp. 17-20; HW 438^b. Cheyne⁵⁸ considered Delitzsch's explanation plausible. Assyr. *nālu* (נָהַל) is a synonym of *rabāḡu* (רָבַץ) to lie down. The causative *uśnā'il* (or, contracted, *uśn'il*) is the Shaphel of the Piel (= *uśnahhil*). Cheyne (1904) translates יִנְהִלֵנִי: *He leads me to drink*.

(64) Cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 278, l. 19; ZDMG 58, 619, l. 3; 628, n. 9; and my *Eccl.*, n. 30 to the Introduction. J. D. Michaelis⁵² stated as early as 1782 that Ps. 23 consisted of two sections (vv. 1-4 and vv. 5. 6). Ernst Meier arranged this psalm in two sections, each consisting of two stanzas; each of his stanzas comprises six lines with two beats (i: vv. 1. 2;—ii: vv. 3. 4^a;—iii begins with כִּי אֲתָה עֲבָדִי;—the first line of iv is כִּי־יִרְיֶה. According to Ewald the two sections are vv. 1-3 (6 hemistichs) and vv. 4-6 (6 hemistichs). Olshausen remarked in 1853: This psalm has been divided into two stanzas, each consisting of three verses: vv. 1-3 and vv. 5. 6; but v. 4 belongs to the preceding verses. This criticism was quite correct: the first section comprises vv. 1-4, the second: vv. 5. 6. According to Cheyne's new translation of the Psalms (London, 1904) Ps. 23 is composite. He considers vv. 5. 6 a separate fragment (cf. ZAT 7, 308; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1892, p. 672). He arranges vv. 1-4 in two stanzas, each consisting of four pentameters; the last but one line of the second stanza is lost. Verses 5 and 6 are correctly arranged in four lines but not in couplets.

(65) Cf. my *Eccl.*, n. 1 on VIII. Jesus said to the Pharisee Simon, who had invited him to a meal, My head with oil thou didst not anoint (Luke 7, 46). Sardanapalus mentions, in the cuneiform account of his eighth campaign, against the King of Elam, Ummanaldas, that he conquered Susa and carried off as spoil among other things: *ša ina muxxi ūšibū ittilū, ina libbi ekulū ištū irmukū ippaššū whereon they sat and slept, wherefrom they ate, drank, made libations, and anointed themselves* (KB 2, 204, 20. 21). The form *ippaššū* is impf. Niphal (= *inpašišū*) not pres. Qal (= *ipāšašū*) as Jensen states. For the stem *pašašu* to anoint, cf. my remarks on בָּתִּי נָפֵשׁ Is. 3, 20 in Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT) p. 82, l. 7. Cheyne (1904) reads תִּרְשֵׁן נִפְשִׁי *My desire Thou satisfiest with rich foods*.

(66) Cf. my translation in JHUC, No. 90 (June, 1901) p. 115^b and in *Oriental Studies* (Boston, 1894) p. 257; also my metrical German version cited above, n. 6; and my *Eccl.* (see above, n. 3). According to A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 77, God tells the pious man in Eccl. 9, 7 to partake of the bread and wine which are kept for him in Paradise. But Ecclesiastes did not believe in the existence of Paradise.

(67) See, however, above, n. 43 and below, n. 104.

(68) אֵל (so, too, אֵל) is correct, and we must not, with Hupfeld and Wellhausen, substitute אֵל; cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 134, l. 27.

(78) JBL 19 (1900) pp. 55-81.

(79) Cf. my metrical Assyrian version of David's dirge, JHUC, No. 163, p. 56^a and the modern Assyrian tablets referred to *ibid.*, p. 76^a.

(80) For cuneiform poetry cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 32, l. 34.

(81) For Iāma (i. e., Iāva) see my remarks in Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT) p. 68, l. 14; Transactions of the Thirteenth Oriental Congress (Leyden, 1904) p. 261; contrast Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, fifth edition (Leipzig, 1905) pp. 78-80. Iā'pi-ilu could mean *God is resplendent, glorious*; cf. *עליון יצחק* Ps. 132, 18 = *עליון יצחק* over him (Zerubbabel; see above, n. 43) shall his crown shine bright; or iā'pi may correspond to *يعفو* so that Iā'pi-ilu would mean *God pardons* (*عفا الله عنه*). Contrast my remarks on Iā'lū (KB 2, 130, 20) = *يعلو* (= *يعلى*) in *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* 1, 170, below. See also Albert T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1904) p. 21 (contrast *ibid.*, p. xv). Dr. Clay remarks: "In what manner Jāwa represents ידון I am not prepared to say." We must bear in mind that the imperfect of the verbs ל"ה in Hebrew has the intransitive form, just as the perfect forms נָלִיתָ &c. are intransitive; cf. Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. (SBOT) p. 68, l. 20. Heb. יִהְיֶה appears in Arabic as *يها* iahā. The original form of יִהְיֶה may therefore have been Iāhūā, or with quiescing of the *h* and shortening of the final *a*, Iāua which may be written Iāma in Assyrian, just as דַּרְיָאֻשׁ is written Dāriāmūš; see my paper on the semivowel *u* in Assyrian, ZA 2, 269.

(82) Assy. umḡu or (with partial assimilation of the *m* to the following *ḡ*) unḡu, fem. umḡatu, means *want, hunger*. In post-Biblical Hebrew, *אָמַץ* means *to press, to close*, especially the eyes of the dead (so, too, Syr. *חָפֵץ*) but the initial *א* is probably an *א*, = *غ*; cf. Arab. *غَمَضَ*, Heb. (with transposition) *עָצַם* Is. 29, 10; 33, 15. For *חָפֵץ* (instead of *אָמַץ*) = *غَمَضَ* cf. Driver, *Tenses*, third ed., p. 225. Instead of *ul ammuḡ* we might also say *ul axāšax* or *sunqa ul ammar* *I shall not see want*, but this would not suit the meter. Assy. *sunqu* corresponds to Heb. *צִנָּק* (partial assimilation of the initial *s* to the final *q*); cf. my remarks in *Hebraica* 1, 231. The *n* in *צִנָּק* is secondary; the original root is *צִנָּק*; cf. Assy. *siqu tight* = Arab. *صَيَّقَ*. Assy. *sūqu street* (originally *narrow passage*) must be derived from the same root; see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 133, n. †; p. 251, l. 21.

(83) Assy. *ušbarri* means *he satisfied, nourished* (*בִּרְא*) abundantly. A more literal rendering of Heb. *נַפְשִׁי יָשׁוּבָב* would be *napištī ana ašriša utār*, lit., *He brings my soul back to its place* (cf. Delitzsch, HW 702^b).

(84) The etymological equivalent of Heb. *מִנְחָה* would be *manāxati* (HW 453^b, below). *Manāxtu resting place* must not be confounded with *manaxtu hardship* from *אָנַח*; see my translation of the beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic (JAOS 22, 12).

(85) We might also use qirbeti (HW 595^b) or gine, but not usalle *marshes* (Syr. ܘܫܠܐ). For l. 135 of the Flood tablet see my note in JAOS 17, 161. n. *.

(86) See Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 216, l. 3 (No. 100, 17); contrast HW 229^b. We might also use urqêti or birt (HW 243^b, 184^b).

(87) Or xurri. For neribu (from erêbu *to enter*, ערב) see Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887) p. 13.

(88) Eṭûtu = *gāṭaṭtu. We could also say ekliti (הכל) or da'ummati which mean both *darkness* and *distress*, just as idirtu *distress* means originally *darkness*; see my *Eccl.*, n. 32 on IV.

(89) The impf. of allak (for a'alak, ahâlak) *I go*, illik is based on the analogy of the verbs פָּנָה.

(90) For limuttu = לִמְיֻתָּהּ see my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 175, note *, l. 4.

(91) Addar = ahâdar (דָּדַר). We might also say la-apâlux, but this would not suit the meter.

(92) Šibirru denotes a staff which may be used as a weapon. In my ASKT 120, 16 we read: re'u ina šibirrišu lidûkši *the shepherd may slay her with his staff*. The stem of Heb. שִׁבְטָה *staff* is Assy. šabātu *to strike*, in Ethiopic (with partial assimilation of the initial *s* to the following *b*; cf. above, n. 82) ረገጠ; zabāṭa. Assy. šibṭu is used both for *sceptre* and *massacre* (HW 638^a).

(93) To accent the conjunction is preferable to emphasizing the pronoun: Kāša šibirruka u-xuṭartuka.

(94) Š uses the same word: מַשְׁכֵּי מַשְׁכֵּי.

(95) More literally, šunu utakkalûni.

(96) Š uses the corresponding word פָּתַר (פָּתַר, פָּתַר); see my remarks in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1, 161. We might also say naptana tarâkas or naptana tašâkan.

(97) Assy. rakâsu means originally *to bind* (cf. Ex. 28, 28; 39, 21) then *to put together, to arrange*. Rakâsu ša paššûri means especially *to arrange a sacrificial table*; cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 94, 2.

(98) Or za'ire'a (זִיר) or nakrûti'a.

(99) Cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Hunger, *Becherwahrung bei den Babyloniern* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 7, l. 7.

(100) Similarly E uses a verbal form ܐܠܝܬܝ: irâui, *calix quoque tuus sitim explet*, ܐܠܝܬܝ. According to Ehrlich רִירָה means only *enough to quench the thirst*. If we wanted to use a noun instead of a verb, we might say: kâsi duxdu, or xegallu, or nuxšu, or baltu, or laltu, or ablûtu; but idâxad is preferable. The impf. Qal idxud, which is not recorded in Delitzsch's HW 214^a, is found in my ASKT 51, 47. ܐܠܝܬܝ substitute a verb for a noun in the beginning of the psalm: Κύριος πομαίνει με, *Dominus regit me*, ܐܠܝܬܝ ܠܝܚܝܬܝ. Cf. above, 31. 75.

(101) See HW 613^b.

(102) More literally, *kal ûme balatî'a*, but *kal ûme'a* is more idiomatic. The stem of *kal* *all* is כָּלִי.

(103) The etymological equivalent of Heb. לֹאֲרֵךְ יָמִים, Assy. *ana arāk ûme* is used in the sense of *longevity*. *Ana arāk ûme* would mean *for a long life*. *For ever* is expressed either by *ana ûme çati* (צָאֲתִי) literally, *for the days of exit* (HW 239^b) or *ana dûri dâri*, or *ana dâratî* (HW 213) or *ana matî-ma* (HW 435^b) or *ana arkat* (יָרַךְ) *ûme* (HW 243^a).

(104) Olshausen assigned Ps. 23 to the time of Simon, about May 142, when the Syrian garrison in the Acra of Jerusalem was starved into surrender (cf. above, n. 43). The Syrians were in great distress for want of victuals, and a great number of them perished (1 Macc. 13, 21. 49. For Hitzig's and Grätz's views see above, n. 27. According to Michaelis and Hengstenberg the psalm is Davidic; so, too, Delitzsch and DeWette-Baur. Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf. JHUC, No. 163, p. 54^a) referred it to the Return of the people from the Exile, and the refreshment and pleasure they found when they left Babylon (ZAT 5, 94, below). According to his interpretation v. 5 alludes to the heathen nations which cannot harm Israel enjoying the protection of her God. ℣ and the Midrash refer the psalm to Israel's wanderings in the desert and to the Exile. Hugo Grotius remarks in his *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum: Chaldaeus putat esse Oden factam in nomine Israelitarum qui in deserto fuerunt*. Bæthgen thinks that the psalm must be assigned to the period in which the Songs of Degrees (Pss. 120-134) originated, i. e., some time after the Return from the Exile; see, however, Dr. Stevens' dissertation, referred to above, n. 4.

(105) BCP renders: *therefore can I lack nothing*. This is better than the translation given in AV: *I shall not want*.

(106) T. K. Abbott remarks in his *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1891) p. 93: "What is spoken of is the darkness of deep trouble." At the battle of Bethsura (1 Macc. 4, 29) Judas had but 10,000 men, while the Syrians numbered 65,000; so the Maccabees passed indeed through a glen of gloom: they were in sore straits, and the outlook was gloomy. But יהוה's flock feared no harm. His staff and his shepherd's crook gave them courage. The Syrians were defeated, and Judas went up to Mount Zion to purify and rededicate the Temple (1 Macc. 4, 36). They put up a new altar of burnt offerings (v. 47) in the face of their foes (in the citadel, v. 41) and celebrated the Rededication for eight days.

(107) The staff of the Shepherd of Israel will ward off dangers, His crook will show the way. According to Ehrlich the *staff* (שֵׁבֶט) is the rod of chastisement, while the *crook* (בִּשְׁעָנָה) suggests support.

(108) Emphasized in the Hebrew. Grimme,⁵⁷ p. 37 thinks it might easily be dispensed with. Heb. הַמִּדָּה is warranted by ἡ αὐτή, ἡ ἴψα, ℣ דדינך, הַמִּדָּה. On the other hand, ℣ inserts in l. 2 ἐκεί: εἰς τόπον

χλόης, ἐκεῖ με κατεσκήνωσεν (*3 in loco pascuae ibi me collocavit*). Cheyne (1904) inserts כֶּחָל in the Hebrew text.

(109) The whole poem may be paraphrased as follows : As long as JHVH is our leader, we shall suffer no want ; He will impart to us new strength and vigor ; He will give us rest from our enemies round about us, He will re-establish us in our possession of Judea, and we shall live in peace, as comfortably as a flock of lambs on meadows of verdure by refreshing waters after wanderings in the desert. Even if troublous times should come again, we are not afraid. JHVH's arm will ward off all dangers, and He will lead the way. We do not only suffer no want, we are actually feasting in the face of our foes, the Syrians : our table is spread, our cups are brimful, our heads are perfumed as though we were banqueting in times of peace. JHVH's goodness and kindness will be with us throughout our lives ; He will grant us victory and prosperity, He will also restore to us the Temple on Mount Zion, which has been defiled by the Syrians, that we may re-enter it and worship there for ever.

(110) Like a fourfooted animal.

WHEN DID THE HITTITES ENTER PALESTINE?

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Recent excavations in Palestine, especially those of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer, have furnished new materials for the discussion of this question. A very interesting study of this new material is offered by Professor Sayce in the *Biblical World* of last January, in the course of which he adduces evidence to show that the Hittites were already settled in Palestine at least as early as the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (2000-1788 B. C.). As this date for their entrance into Canaan is earlier by possibly six hundred years than has heretofore been supposed, Professor Sayce's conclusion is of the greatest importance if it can be substantiated. Hence I shall endeavor briefly to scrutinize the available evidence, without at all attempting a full discussion of it.

In the Amarna Letters, all of which fall within the first half of the fourteenth century B. C., we can trace the Khatti-Hittites year after year as they push out of the north and take possession of the Pharaoh's dependencies in northern Syria. The records of Egyptian conquest in that region during the Empire make no reference to any collision with them before that time. On the contrary, when a hundred years earlier than the Amarna Letters, Thutmose III. was campaigning in northern Syria, the Kheta-Hittites sent him presents, presumably from a distance, as no hostilities with them are ever mentioned. If, then, there were actually Hittites present in Palestine in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (2000-1788 B. C.), they must have merged with the Canaanite population, before the beginning of the Egyptian Empire (1580 B. C.), and the influx of Khatti-Hittites traceable in the Amarna Letters is a second wave of Hittite immigration.

This raises the question as to the character of the evidence for the presence of Hittites in Palestine in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty. The documents adduced are twofold, the first being

the presence of the characteristic trichrome Hittite pottery at Gezer at the same level with Egyptian antiquities belonging to the Twelfth Dynasty. It is claimed that this pottery is of the same date as the Egyptian monuments, and that it demonstrates the presence of Hittites in Gezer in the Twelfth Dynasty. The date of the Hittite pottery in the Gezer "tell" may be admitted without further discussion, but the establishment of its date is far from demonstrating the presence of Hittites there at that time. There is plenty of amber (a material found only along the shores of the Baltic Sea) in Egypt in this same age; but this fact will hardly be accepted as proof that there were Northern European tribesmen living in Egypt in the Twelfth Dynasty. The Hittite pottery in question may have been an article of trade for centuries before its makers followed it southward, and its wide dissemination would indicate that such was the case.

The second document adduced by Professor Sayce is an Egyptian monument in the Louvre, which is affirmed to contain the statement of an Egyptian officer that he made a campaign into Palestine, and that he "plundered the palaces of the Hittites" there. The number of the monument is not given in Professor Sayce's article, and I was at first puzzled to know what monument could possibly be meant, as I had copied all the stones in the Louvre for the Dictionary Commission of the German Academies, and could not recall any such inscription. Finally the phrase "palaces of the Hittites" furnished the desired clue, and I was able to identify the monument quoted. Fortunately I had made a facsimile of the inscription before the original, and also a photograph; and from these I have drawn a facsimile for reproduction here (p. 155). The photograph of the lower part of the stela containing the inscription (p. 156) will also aid in showing the exact palæographic character of the monument.¹ It is the mortuary

¹ Louvre Stela C 1. The top lines containing the date are published in Lepsius, *Auswahl*, 10, and *Zwölfte Dynastie*, II, 3; entire by Maspéro in *Report of the First International Congress of Orientalists at Paris*, 1873, II, 48-61, and again by him in *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, III, 153-64; also by Pierret, *Inscriptions*, 2, 27, and by Gayet, *Stèles*, I. All these are inaccurate. A good text is given by Piehl, *Inscriptions* I, I-II, but he overlooked the historical lines and copied them from Maspéro. Brugsch (*Thesaurus*, VI, 1467) copied them from Pierret. They have been carefully given by Müller (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1900, 47-8), who, however, does not consider his copy "einen völlig abschliessenden Text." Müller also gives a translation, to which mine is in one place indebted; but since Müller's copy, the stela has been set up in the new hall for pre-Hyksos monuments, and I found it under a much better light. Hence I secured several additional



FIG. 1.—Inscription of Nesumonta.



FIG. 2.—Lower Portion of Stela of Nesumontu.
The hieroglyphic inscription is in the lower right hand corner.

stela of a certain noble named Nessumontu, dated in the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhet I (2000–1970 B. C.); and at the conclusion of the usual prayers and mortuary formulæ, he appends a brief narrative in nine short columns, in the lower right-hand corner of the stela. This narrative recounts a warlike adventure of his abroad, which is told as follows:

Respecting every word of this stela, it is truth, of that which happened by my arm; it is that which I did in very truth. There is no deceit and there is no lie therein. I defeated the Asiatic Trogodytes (Yntyw-Mntyw-Stt), the Sand-dwellers; I overthrew the strongholds of the nomads (?) as if they had never been (??). I coursed through the field, I went forth in the presence of those who were behind their defenses, without my equal therein, by the command of Montu to one who follows (?) the plan of—

The inscription exhibits numerous difficulties of grammar and dictionary, but it is perfectly clear that it contains no mention of the Hittites. The passage supposed to refer to them is that in ll. 5, 6, above rendered: "I overthrew the strongholds of the nomads." The last word has at the end of l. 5 the three radicals *Ht'* commonly appearing in the hieroglyphic writing of the word Kheta, the name of the Hittite country, with which it here has nothing to do, as shown by the *w* at the top of l. 6, and the following determinative of the legs. It is clearly some rare verb of going,² and probably refers to the wandering habits of the Beduin nomads east of the Delta. The same Beduin tribesmen are indicated by the "Sand dwellers," a common term, here in apposition with "the Asiatic Trogodytes." It is perfectly clear that the expedition of our hero was nothing more than a foray against the turbulent Semitic tribesmen east of the Delta, a punitive campaign such as the Pharaohs had begun to send out, as far back as the early dynastic age (began 3400 B. C.), and of which we have a fuller account in the biography of Uni in the twenty-sixth century B. C. There is therefore no inscriptional

readings and some corrections. I think nothing more can be got from the stone, without removing the cement or stucco with which the surface is now encumbered. The accompanying facimile is made from the photograph and a tracing of my pen and ink facsimile, now in Berlin, made for me by my wife. I find the tracing not as precise in the lacunæ as I could wish, especially in l. 4.

² I cannot see (with Müller, *OLZ.*, 1900, pp. 47, 48) the word "Terrace-dwellers," from *Htyw* "terrace," in our word *Ht'w*; for our word contains a *t'* sign which cannot occur in *Htyw* "terrace."

evidence of the presence of Hittites in Palestine or Syria before the Amarna Letters, and there can be no doubt that the Hittite invasion of Syria traceable in those letters from 1400 B. C. on, represents the first southward shift of the Hittite peoples, which ultimately carried some of them into Palestine, where the Hebrew settlement afterward met them.

A NEW HISTORICAL STELA OF THE INTEFS.

BY GARRETT CHATFIELD PIER.

The stela herewith published I found two years ago (1903) in Egypt, in the hands of a dealer who, after a little persuasion, allowed me to make a copy of it.

In places the inscription was so filled with dirt, which the owner would not permit me to remove, that it was difficult to make out the signs, and, as I had a very short time at my disposal before the departure of my steamer, I cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy of my copy. I merely saw that it related to the Intefs, and so felt that it would be of some historical value.

My drawing, herewith produced, was made from the rough and unrevised copy in my notebook, where the figures and offerings and hotep di suteni formula (ll. 15-19) had to be sketched in hurriedly at the last moment, without careful regard to their relative size and position.

In preparing this drawing for publication I have inserted "sic" in some cases where doubt was felt as to the correctness of my original copy.

The stela was of beautiful workmanship, its dimensions, roughly, as follows: height, forty inches; width, twenty-seven inches; and its material limestone.

When I asked the owner where the stela was found, his reply indicated Drah Abu-'n-Neggah, as the source of the monument, a provenance which seems highly probable, as other tombs of the same period have been found at that place, among them that of the king Waḥ-Ankh Intef mentioned in this very monument.

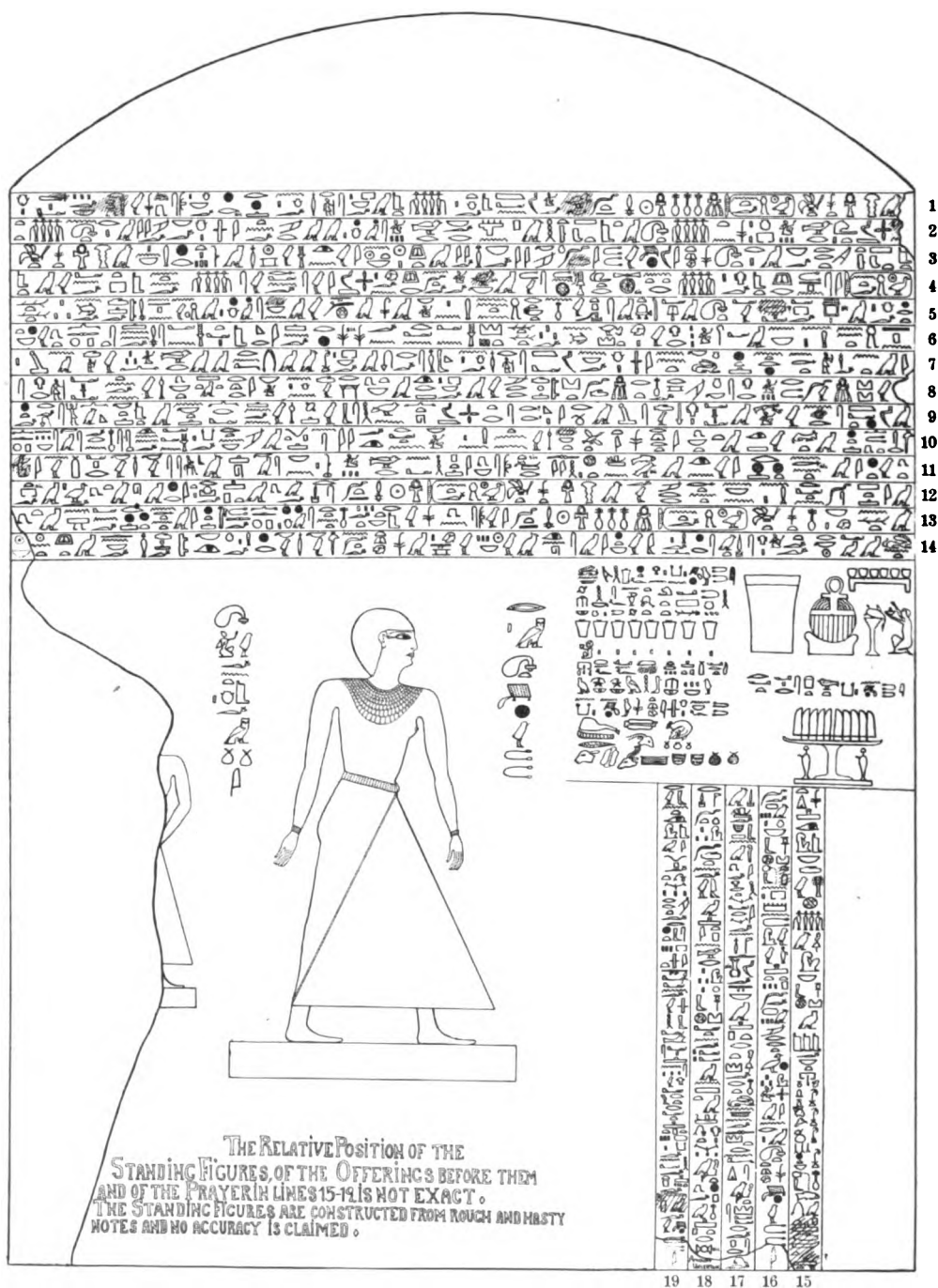


FIG. 3.—Stela of Thethi.

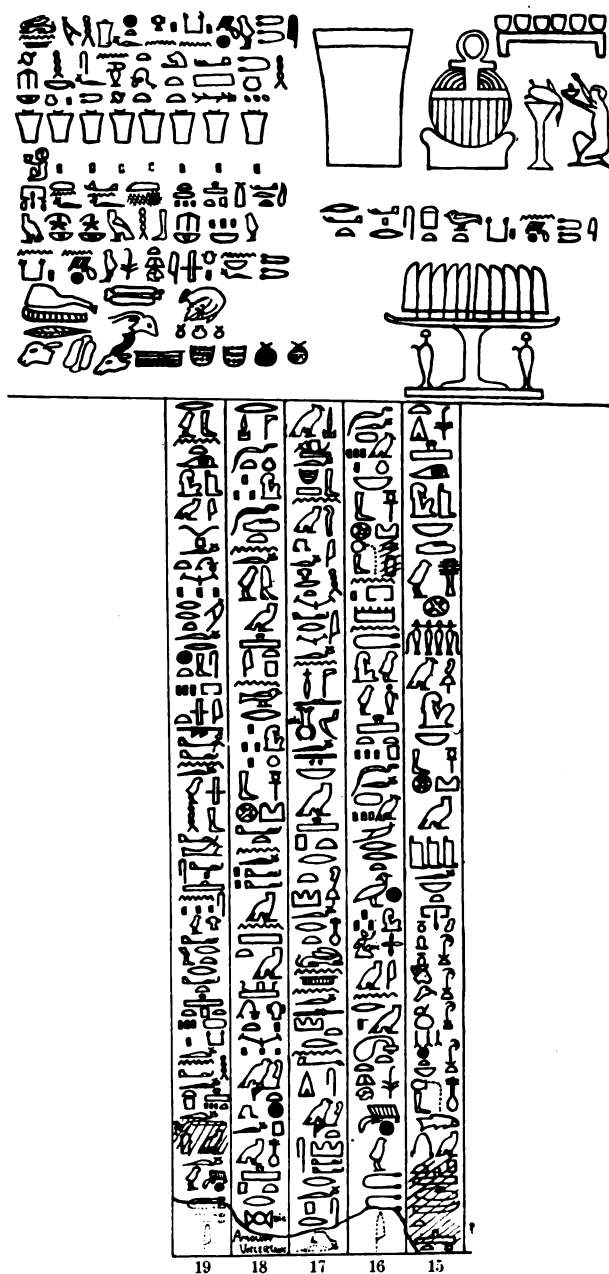
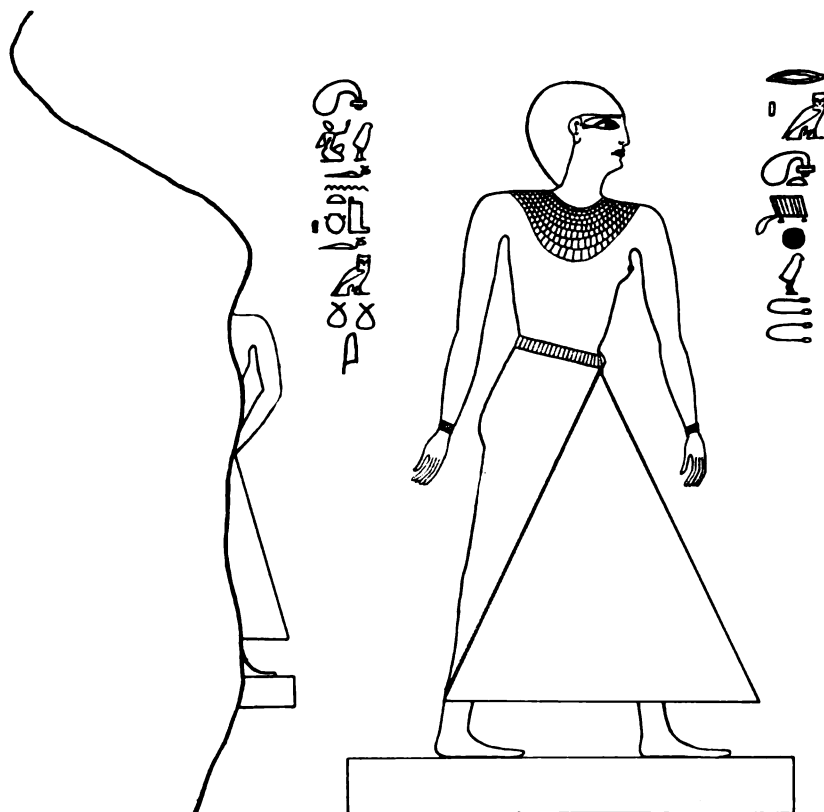
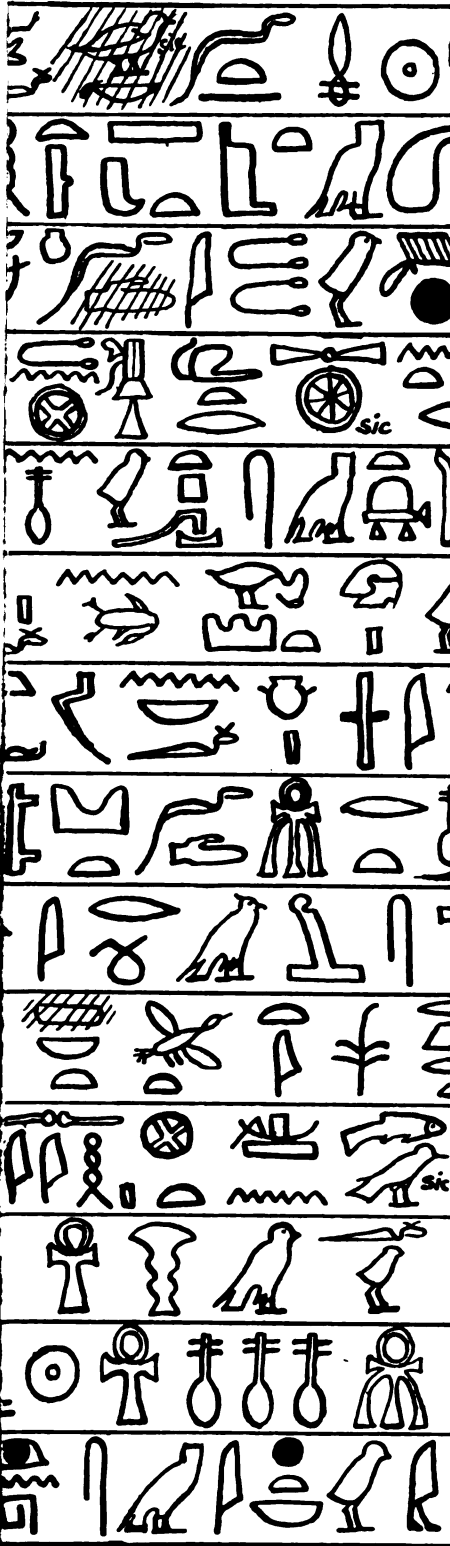


FIG. 4.—Stela of Thethi: Lower right half.



THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE
 STANDING FIGURES, OF THE OFFERINGS BEFORE THEM
 AND OF THE PRAYER IN LINES 15-19 IS NOT EXACT.
 THE STANDING FIGURES ARE CONSTRUCTED FROM ROUGH AND HASTY
 NOTES AND NO ACCURACY IS CLAIMED.

FIG. 5.—Stela of Thethi: Lower left half.



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NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED,
The University of Chicago.

The preceding important stela, communicated by Mr. Pier, is especially welcome, as dating from the obscure period of the Eleventh Dynasty, from which so few monuments have survived. Indeed, it is the only biography of the kind known to us from this dark epoch. It furnishes us with the first known succession of the kingdom from father to son in the Eleventh Dynasty, with the limits of the kingdom under Wahenekh-Intef, with the means of dating this king precisely, with the name of a new Intef, and with some interesting details in the administration of a chief treasurer in this small kingdom of the upper Nile, before it gained Lower Egypt.

Thethi, whose autobiography occupies the upper portion (ll. 1-14) of the stela, was chief treasurer under two successive Intefs, and he narrates his career under each in succession. The narrative is not easy; it contains a number of administrative and conventional uses of words which it is difficult to penetrate. Moreover, the text is in places uncertain. Hence the following is offered only as a preliminary study of the interesting document, which may be of service until an exhaustive study of the original itself is possible.

Thethi's tale of his life is as follows: *

¹[Live] Horus, Wahenekh, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Intef (I.), fashioner of beauty, living like Re forever.

His real and favorite servant, having an advanced seat in the house of his lord, great and favorite official, knowing the private affairs of his lord, following him at his every going, 'great'-hearted²—in very truth, head of the grandees of the palace, in charge of the seal in the privy office, one whom his lord trusted more than the grandees, one who delighted the heart of Horus (the king) with that which he desired, favorite of his lord, his beloved, chief treasurer, in charge of ³the privy office which his lord loved, the chief treasurer, the first under the king, the revered, Thethi, saith:

* In the translation [] enclose uncertain words; [] enclose restorations; one - indicates one word, two -s indicate two words. etc. Dots denote omissions.

"I was one beloved of his lord, his favorite every day. I passed a long period of years under the majesty of my lord, Horus, Wahenekh, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'son of Re, Intef (I.), this land being under his authority southward as far as '—', and northward as far as Thinis; while I was his servant, his subject, his real subordinate. He made me great, he advanced my seat, he placed me in his 'confidential office in his palace because of '—'. The treasury was put in my charge, and under my seal-ring, as one chosen for the sake of every good thing brought to my lord from the South and from the Northland at every 'accounting'; for the sake of pleasing (the king) with the tribute of this whole land; because of his apprehension lest 'this land should diminish' that which was brought to the majesty of my lord from the shékhs dwelling on the desert plateau (lit., Red Land), and because of his apprehension lest the highlands should diminish.* Then he gave this (office) to me, when he recognized the excellence of my ability. Then I reported it to him; never was anything lacking 'therein '—' because of the greatness of my wisdom.

"I was one who was a real favorite of his lord, a great and favorite official, the coolness and the warmth in the house of his lord; one [to whom] the arms were drooped (in the posture of respect) among the grandees; I did not '—' behind 'the '—' for which men are hated. I was one loving good and hating evil, a character beloved in the house of his lord, attending to every procedure^b according to the '—'^c of the desire of my lord. Now as for every procedure^b on account of which he commanded me to arise 'in I did not exceed the number which he commanded me; I did not put one thing in the place of another '—' — '—' I did not take a thing from a legacy, but every procedure was attended to. Now as for all royal food which the majesty of my lord commanded me to give to him, there was made (or I made) for it a list of all that his ka desired; then I delivered it to him, and I carried out successfully all their administration. Never 'was there anything lacking therein, because of my great wisdom.

"I made a barge for the city (Thebes) and a boat for following my lord.^d I was counted with the grandees at every time of '—', while I was honored and great. I furnished 'myself —' '—' with my own things, which the majesty of my lord gave to me, because he so greatly loved me, 'even) Horus, Wahenekh, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Intef (I.) living like Re forever; in order to convey him in peace to his horizon (his tomb).

* *Ht*, the same word is used for the diminishing of a payment on a contract in the Sift contracts.

^b This word (*sm-t*, lit. "a going") occurs a number of times in this inscription with a conventional meaning. This meaning is sometimes "administrative procedure," sometimes "administrative function" or "office."

^c It is a question whether this word may not be the *gdw*—"hall" or "audience hall," in which case *sm-t*, "a going," is here used literally, viz., every going to the audience hall at the desire of my lord."

^d One for use at the capital and the other when the king was on a journey.

"Then when his son assumed his place, even Horus, Nakhtnebtenefer, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Intef (II.), fashioner of beauty, living like Re forever, I followed him to all his good seats of pleasure. Never did he ^{r-1} a thing therein, because of my great wisdom. He gave to me the function "which I had (lit. was with me) in the time of his father, making it to prosper under his majesty, there being nothing lacking therein. I passed all my time on earth as first under the king, his subject, while I was mighty and great in the sight of his majesty. I was one fulfilling his (the king's) character, whom his lord favored every day."

Wahenekh-Intef is the well-known Intef of the dog-stela* at Cairo. On that stela his northern boundary is likewise given as Thinis; the new stela adds also the southern, which unfortunately I am unable to locate. Someone more familiar with the geography of the south may be able to identify it. The question arises whether the "Northland" (l. 5) does not mean the Delta as usual, and indicate that Wahenekh-Intef afterward conquered also the Delta. Against this are two conclusive considerations: First, as this stela was made long after Wahenekh's death, it is inconceivable that only the insignificant conquest as far as Thinis should be mentioned and the acquisition of the great north entirely omitted. Secondly, the king himself on his own tombstone relates with pride the conquest as far as Thinis, but makes no reference to any acquisition of the north. The apprehension of Wahenekh lest the tribute from the outlying shékhs should fail is of interest, indicating, as it does, that he controlled the desert on the east side of the valley. It can hardly be a reference to the oases at this early date, though this is possible.

In Eduard Meyer's *Aegyptische Chronologie*^b I have attempted a reconstruction of the Eleventh Dynasty (reprinted also in the preceding number of this JOURNAL), in which I have placed two Intefs at the head of the dynasty. This new stela demonstrates the correctness of the conclusion that the dynasty began with two Intefs, but shows that the first of the two was not the nomarch Intef, as I inferred, though I stated in a note that it was immaterial to the reconstruction whether the nomarch Intef or a later Intef of the line stood at the head of the dynasty. Our new document shows that we must put Wahenekh-Intef at the head of

* Mariette, *Monuments divers*, p. 49; cf. p. 15; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pp. 161, 162. A translation of the historical portion will be found in my essay, in this JOURNAL, Vol. XXI, p. 112.

^b *Aus den Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 156-61.

the line, and that he was followed by his son, a new Intef, having the Horus-name: Nakhtneb-Tepnefer. This thrusts the nomarch Intef one generation farther back, and hence out of the list of the dynasty* as given in the Turin Papyrus, which included but seven kings. It was therefore Wahenekh (who now becomes Intef I.), who assumed royal titles and honors, and became the first king of the line; but he never ruled north of Thinis, and the progress of the dynasty in gaining supremacy in the north also will have been as I have attempted to demonstrate in the aforesaid reconstruction.

In the light of the new document, the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty are now these:

Horus W'h-'nh-'Intf I. - - - -	50 + x years	} 2160-2000 B. C.
Horus Nht-nb-tp-nfr-'Intf II. - - -	x "	
Nb-htp-Mentuhotep I. - - - -	x "	
Vassal 'Intf III. (Relief at Shatt-er-Regal) - - - -	x "	
Nb-hrw-R'-Mentuhotep II. - - -	46 + x "	
S'nh-k'-R'-Mentuhotep III. - - -	28 + x "	
Nb-t'wy-R'-Mentuhotep IV. - - -	2 + x "	

The chronology of the dynasty, as I outlined it in the former reconstruction, is but slightly affected by the above changes in the first two reigns. As we now know that Wahenekh-Intef I. was the first king of the dynasty, and the length of the dynasty is given by the Turin Papyrus as 160 years, we can almost exactly date the accession of Wahenekh, placing it at about 2160 B. C. The stela of the Thinite official, Intefyoker^b (Leyden), dated in the thirty-third year of Sesostri I., of the Twelfth Dynasty—that is, in 1947 B. C.—states that his great-grandfather was appointed to office by Wahenekh-Intef I. According to our new stela, Wahenekh-Intef I., whose reign was not less than fifty years in length, ruled at least as late as 2110 B. C., and Intefyoker (living 1947 B. C.) may easily have had a great-grandfather who was appointed to office as late as 2110 B. C., that is, 163 years earlier. This is reckoning about forty years for each of the four generations from Intefyoker (inclusive) back to his great-grandfather. In my former reconstruction of the period, in which the date of Wahenekh was not settled as it now is by the new stela, I reckoned from thirty to thirty-five years to a generation.

* As Eduard Meyer suggests in *Chronologie*, p. 161.

^b Leemans, *Descr. rais. des mon. Ég. à Leide*, pp. 261-66; Rongé, *Revue archéologique*, 1^{re} sér., VI, p. 550; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, XXI-II.

THE INTERPRETATION OF קַרְנִים בַּיָּד לֹ, HAB. 3:4.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, PH.D.,
Andover Theological Seminary.

In his article on the word "Horn" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Cheyne says:

The usual explanation is unquestionable in such passages as the following: 1 Sam. 2:1, "By Yahwé my horn is exalted"; Ps. 89:17 (18), "By thy favor our horn is exalted"; Ps. 75:4 (5), "Lift not up your horn"; Jer. 48:25, "The horn of Moab is cut off" (*cf.* Lam. 2:3 ["He hath cut off in the heat of anger all the horn of Israel"]). In such passages "horn" symbolizes power, and its exaltation signifies victory . . . and deliverance. . . . In other passages it will not suit.

The difficult passages are: Job 16:15, עָלַלְתִּי בַעֲפֹר קַרְנִי, "I have thrust my horn into the dust;" Amos 6:13, הֲלוֹא לָקַחְנוּ לָנוּ, קַרְנִים, "Have we not taken unto ourselves horns?" Exod. 34:29, 30, 35, קָרַן עַר פָּנָיו of Moses; Job 42:14, Job names his third daughter קָרַן הַפֶּזֶק, literally, "Horn of stibium;" and our passage, Hab. 3:4, קַרְנִים בַּיָּד לֹ.

Of the first passage Cheyne says:

To "lift up thy horn" may be to increase in power, or to show a proud sense of greatness; but it is hardly safe to maintain, on the ground of a single doubtful passage, that "to thrust it into the dust" (Di), or to "defile it in the dust," is a Hebrew phrase for feeling the sense of deepest humiliation. In Hebrew idiom, people "roll in the dust" *themselves* (Mic. 1:10) not their "horn." The remedy is to examine the text, and to see what errors the scribe was most likely to have committed.

Accordingly he would read יִקְרִי בַעֲפֹר יְקָרִי, "I have profaned my glory in the dust." In Amos 6:13, with Gratz, who is followed also by Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, and Nowack (also now by Marti, *Dodekapropheton*), he renders קַרְנִים as a proper name, "Have we not taken Karnaim?" In Exod. 34:29, 30, 35, again, he substitutes for קָרַן, בִּרַק, "lightened." Similarly in our passage he would read לֹ בִּרְקִים בַּיָּד לֹ, "He had lightnings coming out of his hand." Of the name קָרַן הַפֶּזֶק he says:

That the term "horn" can be used of a horn-shaped vessel is intelligible (1 Sam. 16:1, 13; 1 Kings 1:39). Such a phrase as "horn of pigment for anointing the eyelashes" is therefore itself possible. But was

there ever a father in ancient legend who gave this name to his daughter, as Job is said to have done in MT of Job 42:14?

It seems to me that Cheyne has done important service in pointing out substantial difficulties too likely to be overlooked; but we must, as usual, be slow to adopt the drastic remedies he suggests. The first recourse in the interpretation of an obscure passage whose traditional text construes without grammatical violence is to investigate anew the meaning of the words.

The most difficult, upon the basis of the current interpretation of the word "horn," and so the most inviting, is the passage Hab. 3:4.

As will be recalled, this verse occurs in the graphic and more or less anthropomorphic description¹ of the progress of אֱלֹהִים in the so-called Psalm of Habakkuk. Beginning with vs. 3:

*Eloah cometh from Teman,
And the Holy One from the mountain of Paran;
His majesty hath obscured the heavens,
And his acclaim hath filled the earth.*

Then follows the verse,

וְנִגְהָ פָאֹר תְּהִיָּה קִרְיָם מִיָּדוֹ לֹא וְשֵׁם הַבְּיֹן עָזָה

There is, to begin with, a difficulty in the Massoretic vocalization of the first clause. Wellhausen, who renders it "Ein Glanz wie des Lichtes war es," admits: "Nur das Femininum תְּהִיָּה lässt sich nicht erklären." In my judgment, it can be easily explained (Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 144c) by pointing וְנִגְהָ and rendering: "When he gleams, it is as the daylight." On the remainder of the verse the Arabic gives us help.

Under the root قَرَن, the *Lisân ul 'Arab* (XVII, p. 209) has:

أَقْرَن of the ox and such like is the horn (الروق) and its plural is قُرُون, and it is not otherwise broken (has no other plural); and its place (the spot corresponding thereto) on the head of man is likewise قَرَن.

. . . And القَرَن is the forelock (الدُّوَابَّة), and some limit its application to the forelock of the woman and to her braid (صَفْبِرَة), and the plural is قُرُون and قَرْنَا And the قَرَن of the man is the crown of the head. . . . (p. 211). A certain one (not Alexander)² was called

¹ "Mythologisch stilisirte Gwitterbeschreibung" (Wellhausen).

² The Arabs have various explanations of the epithet as applied to Alexander the Great in Sura 18:82; see the *Lisân*, XVII, p. 211, top, and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Koran*, p. 106, n. 4.

وَذُو الْقَرْنَيْنِ because he had two locks that he braided on the two horns of his head and let them hang down (قيل له ذلك) And (لأنه كانت له ذؤابتان يصفُرهما في قرْنَيْ رَأْسِهِ فَيُرْسِلُهُمَا (صَفِيرَتَانِ) or two braids (قَرْنَانِ) you say a man has two horns (p. 212). And said Abu Sufyān Bnu Harb to Ul 'Abbās Bnu 'Abd il Mutallib, what time he beheld the faithful and their respectful demeanor toward the Lord's apostle—God's peace be upon him!—and their reverence of him as he presided at their prayers, "I have not seen such demeanor as this to-day among any people, no not among the chivalrous Persians nor among the Greeks ذَات الْقُرُونِ." They are called ذَات الْقُرُونِ in allusion to the continuance of their dominion from age to age (قرناً بعد قرن); and others say (and these are doubtless correct) they are so named in allusion to the horns of their hair and their custom of growing it long, for they never cut it, and every braid of the braids of the hair is a horn وقيل سُمُوا بِذَلِكَ لِقُرُونِ شُعُورِهِمْ وَتَرْفِيعِهِمْ إِيَّاهَا) .³ (وَأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَحْجُزُونَهَا وَكُلُّ صَفِيرَةٍ مِنْ صَفَامِ الشَّعْرِ قَرْنٌ).

Lane would seem not to have fully understood the verse quoted in his lexicon under the word خَيْط :

أَقْسَمْتُ لَا أَنْسِيَ مَنِيكَ وَاحِدٍ
حَتَّى تُخَيِّطَ بِالْبَيَاضِ قُرُونِي

"I swear that I will not forget one person's loan
Until my horns are threaded with white."

The testimony of the Arab authors is amply confirmed by first-hand evidence as to the modern Beduin use of the word and the custom which underlies it.⁴ Doughty is worth quoting⁵ (he is traveling among the tribes in the vicinity of Medāin Sālih):

I rode with an acquaintance to a booth which stood upon the stony bank at a hollow seyl-side, and alighted with a present of tittun. I found the good housewife at home, her forelock hanged braided as a horn, with a threaded bead upon it—the manner in some northwest districts.

³ Cf. also Ibn Hishām, note on pp. 186 sq.; Al Belādhuri, pp. 337 sq., and DeGoeje's note on p. 85; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 197 sq., 250; Jacob, *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, p. 47.

⁴ See Burton, *Pilgrimage to El Medina and Meccah*, Vol. II, p. 81 (with illustrations).

⁵ *Arabia Deserta*, Vol. I, p. 382.

And p. 469 (still in the vicinity of Medāin Salih):

Mishwat was sturdy, but he could not be master with his wives: Abdullah's mother could so daunt him with her tongue! the other, a younger woman, had lately fled from him. Mishwat sighed manly when he spoke of her; she was gone from her place in the household, but not out of his aching heart: "She is beautiful, he said to me, *she has horns that reach down to her middle* [italics mine]." Seldom or never have the nomad women very long hair, and it is not thick. Side-locks are worn by men at their natural length: so it is said in praise of a young man's fortunate beauty, "*he has great and long horns.*" Mohammed Ibn Rashid, the Shammar prince, hardly at the middle age, is of less than princely looks, but the Beduius say, commending him, "It is a fair young man, he has goodly horns." Elder men at length renounce this ornament of their regretted youth, but there are some which never do wear them.

And Vol. II, p. 220:

These nomad hareem in Nejd were veiled with a face-clout, but only from the mouth downward; they wore a silver ring in the right nostril, and a braided forelock hanging upon the temples.

In this light, it seems to me, must be interpreted the figurative language of many Old Testament passages: Deut. 33:17; 1 Sam. 2:1, 10; Jer. 48:25; Ezek. 29:21; Micah 4:13; Zech. 2:4; Pss. 75:5, 6, 11; 89:18, 25; 112:9; 132:17; 148:14; Lam. 2:3, 17. Doubtless in some of these passages the tropical use of "horn" with conscious reference to its original physical sense is not so prominent, and it has grown to be little more than an abstract term for "honor" or "pride." In others, a knowledge of the original significance of the term helps us to a better understanding of the text.

Coming back to Job 16:15, "I have thrust my horn in the dust" is unexceptionable when understood of the forelock. In 42:14 Job names his daughter "Horn (*i. e.*, not "vessel," but "lock, braid") of stibium," or, as we would say, "Raven Locks."

Amos 6:13, **הַשְּׂמִימִים לֹא דָבַר הָאֲמָרִים הֵלֵא בַּחֲזָקָה לְקַחְנוּ לָנוּ קִרְיִים**. The very general character of the context prohibits the assumption of a specific reference to two all but unknown towns, **לֹא דָבַר** of 2 Sam. 9:4, 5, and (**לֹא דָבַר**) 17:27, and *Karnain* of 1 Macc. 5:26, as Grätz, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Nowack, and Marti. In the first clause, **לֹא דָבַר** is of course not "Unding—Ding, welches keine Realität hat," as Nowack represents the alternative. **דָבַר** is not a metaphysical, but a colloquial term,

meaning not "a substance," but "a matter." **לֹא דָבָר** is accordingly not "a thing without reality," but "a matter of no importance;" as one man might approach another with **הֲיֵשׁ דָּבָר**, "Anything doing?" answer: **לֹא דָבָר**, "Nothing." Quite unnecessary difficulty seems to have been experienced in connection with this same expression **לֹא דָבָר** by all the commentators on 1 Sam. 17:29, **מָה עָשִׂיתִי עִתָּה הֲלוֹא דָּבָר הוּא**. The trouble has resulted from the wrong construction of **לֹא** as attaching to the predication instead of, correctly, to the predicate **דָּבָר**. The sentence **הֲלוֹא דָּבָר הוּא** is a nominal one, of which **הוּא** is the subject and **לֹא דָּבָר** the predicate; the interrogative **ה** alone modifies the predication as a whole. David inquires, not "Is it not a thing?" or "Is it not a matter of importance?"⁶ but "Is it nothing?"—Is the service I have rendered you nothing at all, that you charge me with coming out of idle curiosity?⁷ So in our passage in Amos, **הַשִּׁמְחִים לִלְא דָּבָר** is properly rendered, "Ye that make a fuss (a hullabaloo) over nothing;" and continuing, **הֲאֵמְרִים הֲלֹא** "that say, Have we not in our own strength taken unto ourselves horns?" that is, "risen in the world;" calling up the picture of a strutting dandy.

קָר of Exod. 34:29, etc., is unquestionably a verb with meaning "to be bright, lustrous, brilliant;" but it will hardly be denominative, if we may judge by the analogy of Arabic رَوَّقَ, "horn," from root رَوَّقَ, "to be clear, transparent." The Arabs call amber قرن البجر.

Finally, our passage in Habakkuk, **קִרְנִים מִיָּדוֹ לוֹ** should certainly be interpreted, "He hath horns that reach below his hand." The omission of the qualifying word (in this case = "lower") on which מִן of מִיָּדוֹ is logically dependent, is quite idiomatic.⁸

The third clause of our verse now becomes intelligible: **וְשָׁם** **חֲבִיבֹן עֹזָה**, "And there (that is, in his long hair) is the deposi-

⁶ As H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, ad loc.

⁷ The fact regarding the interpretation of **לֹא דָּבָר** is not altered though we adhere to the customary rendering of the first clause in 1 Sam. 17:29, **מָה עָשִׂיתִי עִתָּה**, as an independent interrogation, "What have I done now?" But David's whole rejoinder is much improved if we construe **מָה** as a relative, "Ce que je viens de faire, c'est rien!" There are other passages in the Old Testament where, contrary to the current view, **מָה** must be construed as a simple relative: 1 Sam. 20:10, **מִי יִגִּיד לִי אִי מָה יַעֲנֶה עֲבִיד קִשָּׁה**, "Who will notify me whether what thy father answers thee is unfavorable?" So probably also 1 Sam. 19:3, we should read **וְרָאִיתָ מָה הִגַּדְתִּי לְךָ**, "And thou wilt see for thyself what I have reported to thee." And so certainly Hosea 9:14, **תֵּן יְהוָה לָהֶם מָה תַחֲזֹק**.

⁸ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 133e, and Gesenius-Brown, s. v. מִן, 6c.

tory of his strength." We are, of course, reminded of the story of Samson, whose unshorn braids (מַהֲלָפוֹת) were the mysterious source of his supernatural strength. On the semi-pronominal use of שָׁם, cf. Gen. 3:23; 10:14; 1 Kings 17:13; Ezek. 5:3.

I am inclined to think that עֲשָׁחִירַת קַרְנִים of Gen. 14:5 should be interpreted in the same way, as the seat of "Astarte of the two braids"—which accords with the representation of the goddess. Perhaps so also the name "Saturnus Balcaranensis" (בעל קרנים) of the Carthaginian inscriptions.* Professor Moore has shown that there is no respectable manuscript authority for holding that the Greek of Gen. 14:5 read עֲשָׁחִירַת וקַרְנִים.

*Otherwise Moore, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, pp. 155 sq.

AN ANCIENT BABYLONIAN (AX-HEAD) INSCRIPTION.¹

BY IRA MAURICE PRICE,
The University of Chicago.

In April, 1903, Mr. George F. Kunz, gem expert of Tiffany & Co., New York city, showed the writer an ancient ax-head, seen in the accompanying illustration, bearing the inscription described below. It is now in the Morgan collection in the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

At the writer's request, Mr. Kunz has furnished the following description of the object:

This remarkable stone object was secured for this collection in 1902 in England. It is one of the oldest known stone objects of a weapon form with an inscription, although copper and metal objects were frequently so marked. It is historic and almost unique.

This ax was obtained by Cardinal Stefano Borgia while at the head of the Propaganda [in the eighteenth century], but whence or how is not known. The Contessa Ettore Borgia, his niece, offered it to the British Museum some ten or twelve years ago, but at so extravagant a value (about three or four thousand pounds sterling) that it was returned to her. It was ultimately acquired for some 15,000 lire by the late Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz,² and soon after his death there was a dispersal of his collection of engraved stones, bronzes, marbles, and other antiquities. After the sale, the ax was purchased for Messrs. Tiffany & Co., by the author [of these statements], and, through the generosity of James Pierpont Morgan, Esq., was presented to the American Museum of Natural History, New York city, on April 16, 1902.

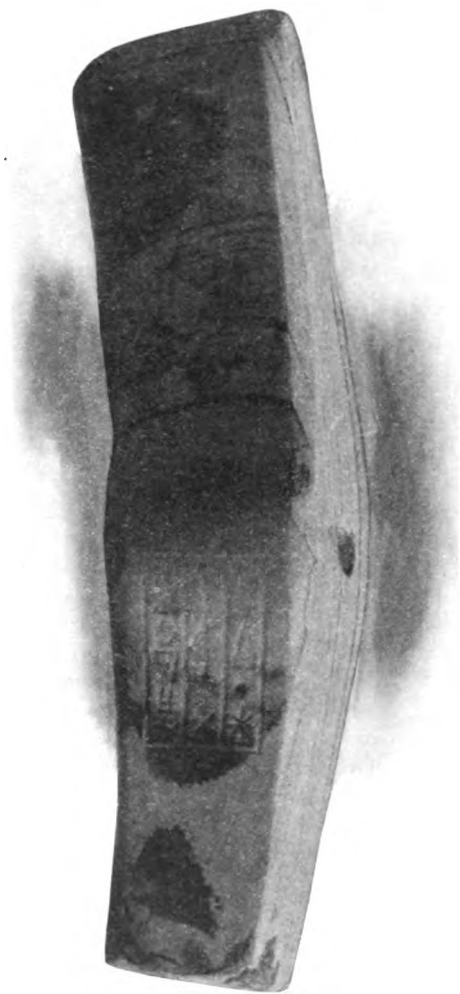
The stone itself is described by Mr. Kunz as follows:

The object measures in length 134.5 mm., width 35.5 mm., thickness 31 mm., and weighs 226.8 grams. It is made of banded agate, the layers being very parallel, so much so that it might well be called onyx. The color is snuff-brown, really a deer-brown. It is in part spotted and splashed with white, evidently due to contact either with fire, or fire and some alkali, such as soda. This *patina* covers the larger part of the inscription, and has been produced since the latter was cut. The incising was the result of bow-drill work.

¹ The most part of the accompanying article was read before the New York Academy of Science, by Mr. George F. Kunz, and appears in Bulletin XXI, Art. V, of the Museum of Natural History.

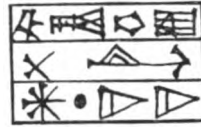
² *Collection d'Antiquités du Comte Michel Tyszkiewicz, décrite par W. Fraehner*. Paris, 1896. Plate XXXII.

This very stone object is pictured in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 755, where the footnotes cite some of the same facts already mentioned by Mr. Kunz. Fr. Lenormant presents a



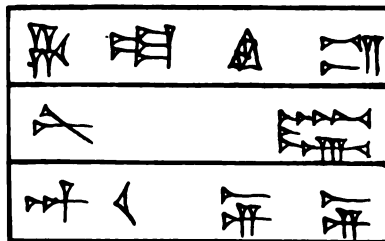
fac-simile of it in his *Tre Monumenti Caldei*, etc, Roma, 1879 (pp. 4-9, Plate VI, 1), where he attempts an interpretation of its inscription, as well as of the ax in ancient archæology. The same object has been described also in Cartailhac, *L'âge de la pierre en Asie*, in the *Troisième Congrès provincial des Orientalistes*, tenu à Lyon; Vol. I, pp. 321, 322, reproduce Lenormant's treatment of it (note in Maspero).

The little inscription that forms the subject of this note is an intaglio on the side of this banded agate ax-head (see the accompanying illustration). It occupies the space of one inch in length by five-eighths of an inch in width. It consists of three lines written in archaic Babylonian characters, of which the accompanying cut is a fac-simile reproduction.



The character of the signs is that current in Babylonia from the earliest times to 2000 B. C., both on cylinder seals and in larger inscriptions. The language is the primitive form of the cuneiform languages called "Sumerian" by one school, and by another "Akkadian." Its outstanding feature is that it is written largely in ideographs—signs that designate ideas, rather than syllables. This was the favorite method of marking important documents, or dedicating them to some particular divinity or divinities.

The accompanying cut, enlarged to twice the actual size, is a transliteration of the inscription into the later Assyrian character, the form of writing current in Assyria from 1500 to 606 B. C.



The transliteration³ of the ancient Babylonian is as follows:

HA AD-DUG-IŠ
PAP ŠEŠ
dingir U ZAL-NI

The Assyrian equivalent of the text may be indicated in the following form:

duppi Ad-dug-iš
ašaridu
ilu Šamaš baru-šu

³ F. Lenormant, in *Monumenti Caldei et Assiri* (Rome, 1879), Plate XIV, gives a transliteration into Assyrian of what seems to have been this inscription, but he misread the first two signs in the first line, and the first two in the third line. He finds the god Ramman, however, and gives an appropriate description of him.

The translation of the text as just transliterated is:

The inscription of Ad-dug-ish
The governor
(Dedicated) to the god Shamash, his benefactor.

This small inscription, like most of those written in the so-called Sumerian language, is capable of more than one rendering. The one presented above is based in part on a fragment of a syllabary found in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, Vol. XII, Plate 31, No. 38182. There we find $\text{HA} = \text{nu-u-nu}$ (= "fish"); du-up-pu (= "tablet" or "inscription"); pu-ra-du , whose meaning is uncertain. It is also possible to read the first line in the inscription as the proper name, thus: "Haddugish, the governor, (dedicated) to the god Shamash, his benefactor."

Another possible rendering is to take the first sign in the first line as naming a particular stone, the determinative sign usually found before such words in prose being omitted. This omission, especially before signs whose character can be otherwise determined, is frequent in the so-called Sumerian inscriptions. The syllabaries (Brünnow, No. 11822) designate a fish-stone (= *aban nûni*), which has been thought by some scholars to be *os sepiae* (= "cuttle-fish bone"). May it not be that this first sign in the first line designates a stone, which, because of its banded character, is likened to a fish, hence to be read "the (precious) stone of Ad-dug-iš," etc.?

In some of the combinations of signs where the first sign in the first line is an element (cf. Brünnow, Nos. 11843, 11845) we find such a meaning as "defense," "protection." It is not impossible that such a meaning may be attached to this ax-head used as a symbol of defense against an enemy. If such a sense were possible, then the last line might be read, "To the god Adad, his lord." The entire inscription would then read, "The defense of Addugish, the governor, (dedicated) to the god Adad, his lord."

It seems evident, from the usual custom in the use of such inscriptions, that the first sign should designate something relative to the object on which it is found. Hence the designation "stone," or "(precious) stone," indicated in the suggestion made above may be the true meaning for this bit of an inscription. The last line contains first the designation of a divinity, probably either Shamash or Adad, the archaic small circle being used for the usual

sign *U* in later Assyrian. Shamash seems to be appropriate, for he was the sun-god, whose warm light fed the life of man, beast, and vegetable, and made the earth bring forth in abundance to feed man and beast. The signs translated "his benefactor" might be more fully rendered by a paraphrase, "the one who supplies him with abundance." Adad was the weather god, the thunderer, who poured out the floods, and who appeared as a warrior with a weapon in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other. On seals he often leads a bull by a leash. If the god in the last line of this inscription should be read "Adad," then there may be some reason in translating the first as "defense," "weapon," making the ax-head merely a symbol of the principal attribute—the warlike one—assigned to the god Adad. The last two signs may then be read as "his lord," "his conquering one," etc.

An alternative reading for the inscription would then be:

The (ax-head) stone of Ad-dug-ish
the governor,
(dedicated) to the god Adad, his lord.

"The governor" was a "leader" or a "prince" of the first rank in authority. In fact, it is an epithet which some of the divinities attribute to themselves as indicative of their rank. Therefore this ax-head was the possession of an official of high authority—and of one who was devoted to his god as his benefactor, or his conquering lord.

Regarding the use of the ax in old Babylonia, Dr. William Hayes Ward says (in the *Bulletin* above referred to):

Axes or celts, whether of stone or copper, are extremely rare from the region of primitive Babylonia, although celts are not infrequent in Asia Minor. The ax was, however, perfectly well known from the earliest times in Babylonia, and is figured both on the cylinders and on bas-reliefs. On a cylinder in the Berlin Museum (V. A. 243) the three weapons more usual on the cylinders are drawn, in the field, side by side, between two standing figures.

This is the usual appearance of the ax on the cylinders, but it is not a frequent weapon, the poniard, and especially the club, being more frequent. In DeClercq's *Catalogue raisonné*, Plate 21, Ramman is figured with a weapon [like this].

In the archaic "Stèle of Vultures" of about 4000 B. C., or earlier, is a figure of a king seated in his chariot, carrying a quiver with arrows, and what may be a peculiar bow, but looks more like a boomerang.

Following him are his soldiers armed with spears and battle-axes (De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Plate 3 bis; see also Plate 5 bis, 3b). But that the double ax was known is shown by a terra-cotta votive ax (*ibid.*, Plate 45, 5).

In the bas-relief of Naram-Sin, king of Agade, in Babylonia, generally supposed to have reigned about 3750 B. C., the king is armed and followed by his soldiers, who are armed, in part, with axes. For the shape of the axes, see De Morgan's *Delegation en Perse*, Vol. I, p. 150.

Babylonian axes are not to be found, I think, in the art after perhaps 3000 B. C., until we come down to the axes of the northern region, which came in with the two-edged *bipennis* ax carried by Adad, or the chief god of the Hittite region. There it was a frequent object, and is found in Cretan art.

Among the cylinders showing the ax is that of the goddess attacked under a tent-tree (De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Plate 30 bis, 17 B).

In the case of the "British Museum Migration Scene" two of the men carry an ax on their arm.

Dr. Ward's opinion of the prevalence and use of the ax in primitive Babylonia would seem to indicate that the last translation given above, wherein "Adad" is taken for the reading of the god in the third line, is the preferable one. Then the first word is most probably to be read as ax-head. It is not impossible that the word *pu-ra-du*, cited from the British Museum Texts, may have "ax-head" for its meaning.

THE FALL OF SAMARIA.

By A. T. OLMSTEAD, A.M.,

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The importance of the fall of Samaria needs no demonstration. Unfortunately, all is not clear in regard to certain questions of fact. As one of the few fairly fixed points in early Hebrew chronology, a determination of the exact date is of peculiar value. The data of the official inscriptions have usually been taken as correct.

After the introductory formulæ, the *Annals*¹ give us the events which occur before the second *palû*. Since Sargon ascended the throne so late in his year of accession, it has generally been assumed that the capture took place in *palû* one.² But, as Winckler has shown,³ we must read *rê[š šarrûti]*, "in the beginning of my reign," *i. e.*, in that part of the year which preceded his first full regnal year. As this is followed in the very next line by [Samer]inai, "the man from Samaria," we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the scribe wished the capture to be placed in the *rêš šarrûti*, *i. e.*, in the period between December, 722, and March, 721.

This capture by Sargon has been a stumbling-block to some scholars. Sayce,⁴ for example, would blame our own stupidity because we do not see that the "king of Assyria" mentioned in 2 Kings 17:5 is Shalmaneser, while the one of the next verse is Sargon. But no person having no theory to defend would doubt that the Hebrew writer intended the same ruler in both cases. An easier and more consistent method of meeting the difficulty is that of Kittel,⁵ who would cast out the Shalmaneser of 2 Kings 17:3 as an interpolation; but there is no real need of so dangerous a proceeding.

Comparing the relative value of the two accounts, we may note that here the Hebrew one seems to rest on very good sources.⁶

¹ Li. 10-22.

² Schrader, *KGF.*, 314; Oppert, *SK.*, 1871, p. 702; *et al.*

³ *Sargon*, xvi, n. 2; *cf.* Plate I of Vol. II of the same.

⁴ *Higher Criticism*, p. 419.

⁵ *Könige*, *ad loc.*

⁶ Into the question of the sources of this part of Kings I have no wish at present to go. But the present state of its source study is very unsatisfactory.

It is not, indeed, without national bias, but there is no reason for distortion of fact here. Samaria was fallen, and it made little difference to the conquered race whether the conqueror was Sargon or Shalmaneser. There being no cause for intentional distortion, it must be a mere blunder or the truth.

The authority of the cuneiform inscriptions, and especially those of the official class, has been rated far too highly. To be sure, they are contemporary or nearly so, and have not been copied more than two or three times at most before being placed in final form.⁷ But, if free from certain minor defects to which the Hebrew records are subject, they have a most dangerous "personal equation" which is generally forgotten. A close study of many inscriptions of this character has persuaded the writer that, in many cases at least, these official utterances have the same virtues and defects as the official, strictly contemporaneous reports sent out from St. Petersburg or Tokio in our own days. Indeed, comparison with foreign sources is frequently needless as by its own contradictions the falsehood of an inscription can often be proved,⁸ showing that official sources were edited as thoroughly, if not as wisely, then as now.

Comparing, then, the relative trustworthiness of the two accounts, we see that the royal scribe had every reason for carrying over into his royal master's reign the events which took place at the close of that of the predecessor whose throne he had usurped, while no such reason is to be found for a change in the Hebrew account. We should then prefer the Hebrew to the Assyrian.

This presumption as to the accuracy of the Hebrew historian seems to be confirmed in a very curious manner by another document. In the Babylonian Chronicle⁹ we have a reference to the destruction in the reign of Shalmaneser of a certain Ša-ma(?) - ra-'-in. Soon after its publication, Delitzsch¹⁰ identified it with Samaria, and this identification he seems still to hold.¹¹ Haupt,¹² too, has accepted this theory and has shown that this equation is

⁷ For evidence of such recopying, *cf.*, *e. g.*, the rough drafts of the Ašur-bani-apal inscriptions.

⁸ A splendid example of this is to be found in the accounts of the end of the war with Marduk-apal-iddinna. In one, the Chaldean is captured, in the next he begs peace and is restored, in the third he runs away. A study of the later Assyrian history with special attention to historical criticism is now under way.

⁹ I, 28.

¹⁰ *Literarische Central-Blatt*, September 17, 1887 (38), p. 1290.

¹¹ *AL*, 4.

¹² *PAOS*, 1887, cclx.

not forbidden by phonetic laws. In general, however, it has been rejected. Sayce¹³ refused it, not on phonetic grounds as Winckler,¹⁴ but because he assumed that the capture of Šamara'in must be dated early in Shalmaneser's reign. Halévy¹⁵ is more radical, reads Šabara'in, equates it with the Sibraim of Ezek. 47:16 and the Sepharvaim of 2 Kings 19:13, and identifies it with the modern Shōmerfeh of Syria.

But the reading of ba for ma is not probable in itself and looks still less attractive in the face of the Um-ma-ni-ga-aš of five lines below. The identification of Šabara'in with Sepharvaim is not to be seriously pressed, while the Sibraim of Ezekiel falls, as I hope to show later, in a very late section of the book, not to mention the great jumble in which the names of the traditional Hebrew text here are lost in the versions.

If we may assume, then, that there is no real reason for our not reading Šamara'in and identifying it with Samaria, let us see if chronology will give us any help in our problem. At first sight, none. The capture of Šamara'in is mentioned as the only event of Shalmaneser's reign, just before the account of his death and just after that of his accession. So far, then, as the Chronicle is concerned, we can only place it in his reign, that is, within the years 727-722. The Assyrian Chronicle, too, seems to give no aid as it is so badly mutilated. Yet at least enough is left here to give us a clue.

Under the year 727, ana¹⁶ [comes before the accession notice. We have no other instance of this in the Chronicle, but it seems reasonable to take this position before the accession notice as indicating that the expedition referred to here occurred before the beginning of the reign of the new king. This is made almost a certainty by the fact that Tiglath-pileser did not die until Tebet,¹⁶ thus leaving but two or at most three winter months for the expedition to occur before the next year, if it is to be placed in the new king's reign. As little can we place this expedition in 726, for here we read ina mātī, "in the land." Winckler¹⁷ and Maspero¹⁸ are therefore in the wrong in placing this Šamara'in capture in 727 or 726. But, for the next three years, 725-723, we have under each ana, "against," and while

¹³ *Academy*, October 22, 1887, p. 870.

¹⁴ *Z.A.*, II, 350.

¹⁵ *Z.A.*, II, 402, and often.

¹⁶ *Bab. Chron.*, I, 24.

¹⁷ *Geschichte*.

¹⁸ *Empires*, 212.

the name of the city or land to which the expedition was sent is lost, the coincidence of the three years with the three years' siege of the Hebrew account seems to justify us in supplying Šamara'in or rather its Assyrian form, Samerina, from the Babylonian Chronicle.¹⁹

To sum up, then, we have, on the one hand, the statement of the official glorification inscriptions of Sargon that that monarch captured Samaria. On the other, we seem to have an agreement of the less partisan Hebrew account, of the Babylonian Chronicle, and even of the Assyrian Chronicle. As to which of the two sides we should accept, there can be little doubt. The three impartial witnesses are to be preferred to the one already proved guilty of deception in many instances. Our final result would then be that the siege of Šamara'in-Samerina-Samaria began in 725, that it lasted three years, that then, near the close of the reign of Shalmaneser, it was captured, and that the glory of the conquest was transferred to the usurping successor who actually did, so far as we can see, attend to the deportation and subsequent settlement of the land.

It cannot, of course, be denied that the combination of the testimony of these three sources rests on somewhat hypothetical grounds. But all seem to have a fair degree of probability and against none can a serious objection based on anything more than hypothesis be raised. The best test, however, of hypotheses is that, being based so far as possible on positive fact, they are brought into combination with each other and with the known facts in the case. It is this interrelation which makes so strongly for the belief that Shalmaneser and not Sargon was the real captor of Samaria.

¹⁹ Perhaps it is worth noting that there is no reference to Samaria in the Nimrud inscription written five years after the events. The Annals, where we have the alleged capture, date from about fifteen years after.

Book Notices.

SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.¹

This handsome volume contains all the Semitic epigraphical material, of whatever nature, which was found by the American expedition which explored northern central Syria in 1899-1900. The inscriptions, for the most part hitherto unpublished, number 232 in all, being distributed as follows: Syriac, 24; Palmyrene, 14; Nabatean, 3; mediæval Hebrew, 10; Safaitic, 136; Arabic (Mohammedan), 45. The districts represented are northern central Syria, Palmyra, and the region of the Haurân. The editor and publishers of this material have spared neither pains nor expense, and the result of their labors is at once a delight to the book-lover and a satisfaction to the student. The volume is beautifully printed in large type, on heavy paper with wide margins. The numerous illustrations, including photographs and original drawings of monuments and inscriptions, are generally excellent. Each inscription is given first in a usable facsimile reproduction, and then in transliteration and translation followed by a sufficiently full commentary.

The publication is a notable one, and will receive a hearty welcome on both sides of the ocean. The study of Semitic epigraphy has gained ground rapidly of late, and the importance of these scattered and often fragmentary documents for the history of the civilization, language, and religion of the peoples of which they testify is much more widely recognized now than was the case a few decades ago. Moreover, this is the first important treatise, in the field of West-Semitic epigraphy, which this country has produced, and the fact should lend it added interest, at least on this side of the Atlantic. The American expedition was fortunate in having Dr. Littmann, now of Princeton University, for its Semitic epigraphist. The work of preparing and editing such inscriptions as these is one of great difficulty, and calls for an unusual combination of qualities. The number of those scholars—even such as are otherwise well equipped—who are able to make satisfactory copies of such documents is surprisingly small; and when it comes to the interpretation, a thorough knowledge of a half-dozen Semitic languages is only one of several prime requisites. In the present volume all these requirements are admirably met, as the expert reader will soon convince himself. Each separate monument is located, and carefully described, with exact measurements. The facsimile drawings are models of their kind; one soon learns that they are as near to being absolutely trustworthy as in the nature of the case is possible for such reproductions. In the inter-

¹ **SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.** By Enno Littmann, Ph.D. Part IV of the "Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900." Pp. xiii + 230. New York: *The Century Co.*, 1904.

pretation of the documents, ingenuity and sound common-sense are most happily combined with philological training; and in the appended commentary, in each case, there is brought together, from a wide acquaintance with the manifold literature, whatever could throw light on the meaning of the inscription under discussion and aid it in contributing to our knowledge of the times and conditions in which it originated. In his study of the principal part of the material, moreover, Dr. Littmann has had the benefit of the counsel of some of the best European epigraphists. It is true that not many of the inscriptions, taken singly, are of high intrinsic importance; on the other hand, the number of those which make some real contribution to our knowledge of ancient Syria is not small. In the case of the Syriac and Safaitic inscriptions especially, the importance of the collection as a whole—quite irrespective of the individual worth of its members—as an aid to any future investigations in the field is at once apparent. In short, this volume of *Semitic Inscriptions* is one in which the members and promoters of the American expedition of 1899-1900 may well take pride, and on the achievement of which Dr. Littmann especially is to be warmly congratulated.

Among the Syriac inscriptions, that of Khirbit Ḥasan (p. 15) is interesting for the glimpse of social conditions which it gives us, as well as for the fact that it is engraved on the lintel of a church portal, and constituted the official record of the completion of the building. At that time (507 A. D.), at least, the language of church and state in this district, as well as the speech of the common people, was Syriac. As hardly any Syriac inscriptions had hitherto been found west of the Euphrates, the discovery of so many new ones by this expedition is an interesting fact. Dr. Littmann discusses on pp. 4 *sq.* the evidence of a revival of the use of Syriac for official documents in the sixth century, and suggests as one chief reason the nationalist movement connected with the founding of the Monophysite church. On pp. 23 *sqq.* is translated and discussed the now famous Dêhes inscription, at which so many scholars have tried their hand. The reading here given, which contains several new features, will undoubtedly stand as the correct one. In this, as in several of the most important inscriptions of this group, the mode of writing is very interesting, the letters being made to run from left to right (in imitation of the Greek) by separating them and turning them half-way over. Here, as elsewhere, the characters are of the Estrangelo type, and generally well formed. For artistic beauty, however, the letters of the fragmentary inscription on p. 32 stand quite alone. The Zebed inscriptions (pp. 47-56), brief as they are, are highly interesting. The use of the word Δ as the *nota accusativi*, in the first of these, is remarkable. The reading can hardly be called certain, but it is extremely probable. Dr. Littmann urges with good right that this western dialect had distinct usages of its own.

Of the Palmyrene monuments, the one (pp. 70 *sqq.*) dedicated to Shai' al-Qaum, the good god "who does not drink wine," easily bears off the honors. The document is interesting and important in many particulars, but especially for the evidence which it affords of a reaction of

the Arab element of the population, with its sober and simple habit of life, against the prevailing cult of the Aramæan Dionysus. This same god—always a North-Arabian divinity—also appears in the Safaitic inscriptions, as **שֵׁי הַקֶּם**, and in a Nabatæan inscription published by Dussaud and Macler. As a specimen of Palmyrene calligraphy, furthermore, this inscription deserves notice. It is already well known to scholars, since Dr. Littmann published it in the *Journal asiatique* in 1901, and it has since been included in Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*. In commenting on the phrase **אלהא קדישא**, "the holy god," in No. 14, Dr. Littmann expresses the opinion (p. 83) that it is "due to Jewish or even Christian influence." It seems to me that this conclusion is hardly justified. Such phrases as this and the frequent **ברוך שמה** **לעלמא** might be expected to arise in any part of the Semitic world where civilization and religious observances had made considerable progress. The Phœnicians termed their gods "holy" (**קדש**), as we know from both the Eshmun'azar and Bod-'Ashtart inscriptions.

As was to be expected, this expedition found only a few Nabatæan monuments; the few gleanings, however, were of very considerable importance. At Si', in the Ḥaurān, is the ruin of a notable Nabatæan temple dedicated to Baal Samīn. Here five fragments of an inscription had been found at different times by previous explorers, though no satisfactory reading had been gained from any one of them, and it was not certainly known that they belonged together. Dr. Littmann had the good fortune to discover two more fragments, and by joining them to the others with admirable ingenuity and skill has been able to restore the document which commemorated the chief builder of the temple. Both the beginning and the end are preserved, and the restoration is entirely convincing, except at the one point where it becomes necessary to supply a missing piece by conjecture. Another monument found near Si' by the expedition, the mortuary stele reproduced on p. 90, is important palæographically and from the fact that it bears the very early date 308 *aer. Sel.*, = 5 B. C.

The mediæval Hebrew inscriptions, found at Kefr il-Bārah and Tédif, are of minor importance. The Safaitic inscriptions and graffiti, on the other hand, occupy a large part of the book (pp. 102-68), and present many features of interest. The unexpected information—little though it is—which these brief scrawls have given us in regard to an otherwise all but unknown North-Arabian civilization is most welcome. On pp. 104-29 Dr. Littmann, who has been one of the pioneers in the work of deciphering the Safaitic inscriptions, gives an excellent summary of our present knowledge of the people who made them, under the headings: the writing; the alphabet; the people and their inscriptions; the date of the inscriptions; the gods; the language; the names. There are here many items of interest for the student of Semitic religion, customs, and language. Among the inscriptions which follow, No. 37 is especially interesting palæographically, because of the close approximation of its characters in form to those of the South-Arabian alphabet.

No. 78 is also to be compared. Although the vocabulary of these inscriptions, aside from proper names, is naturally very small, yet some highly interesting words are encountered, such as מִנָּה, "mina" (p. 153), and דָּד (= דָּדָה), "paternal uncle" (p. 160). With the employment of מִדְּיָה ("Medes") for "Persians," in No. 45. *cf.* especially the rabbinical Hebrew usage. The use of prefixed הַ as the definite article in these documents is now well known to students of Semitic philology. Hardly less important is the use of an interjectional הַ prefixed to the vocative, discussed on pp. 120 *sq.* The conclusion adopted here, that the frequently occurring combination הַיְּ prefixed to the name of a deity (usually Allat) is simply the Arabic conjunction *wa* joined to this same interjectional particle, seems to have everything in its favor. A few of these Safaitic inscriptions have already been published, by Dussaud and Macler. In all such cases the references are given.

Of the Arabic (Mohammedan) inscriptions only a few are given any considerable value by their contents. The two dated records of the building (or rather, rebuilding) of the Muslim fortifications at Qal'at el-Mudīq, Nos. 26 and 27, furnish welcome information. No. 29, from Ezra', is also historically important, and so are the long inscription from Ba'albek (No. 31) and the two from Qal'at Sēdjar (34 and 34a). There are one or two beautiful specimens of the florid ("Carmathian") Kufic; see especially Nos. 12 and 13. In general, these mediæval records, coming for the most part from fortresses which played a foremost part in the history of Islam and of the Crusades, deserve more careful study than they have heretofore received. But their involved and highly decorative script is often difficult to decipher, and many manuscript documents which could throw light on the data which they furnish still remain unpublished. A considerable number of graffiti, some in the Kufic and others in the modern cursive script, are also published here, the intention being to bring together all that were found by the expedition.

The worth of the volume is much increased by the full and carefully made indexes, Syriac, Palmyrene, Nabatæan, and Safaitic, pp. 223-30. As a work of reference, it will be of great and permanent value to students of Semitic history, philology, and epigraphy.

The following suggestions and queries, derived from a first reading of the book, relate in almost every instance to difficulties pointed out by Dr. Littmann. They will perhaps not be unwelcome, even where they contribute nothing of importance to the solution of the problems with which they deal.

P. 41: The proper name Kaukab-ʾĀlemā is hardly likely. As a Syriac name it is improbable in itself, and, what is more, we should expect that in this inscription, as in its twin brother (No. 20), only one name would be given. The letter which follows כַּב can hardly be כ, which is made differently in these inscriptions, but appears to be כּ. Beyond this it is hard to go.

P. 47: מַב is, it seems to me, quite impossible. Even if the inscription were Arabic, the word could hardly be accounted for. Why not

read **מל**? The form of the **ל** in the two Mektebeh inscriptions is almost exactly the same as this, and the phrase **מל לְחַיֵּיהֶם**, "his memory continued as a blessing," is entirely idiomatic. The inscription was made after Rabbula's death, as the **ל** (so the first word should evidently be read) also indicates.

P. 59: Would the traces still remaining on the stone permit the reading (in ll. 3 *sq.*): **קרב** [ור] | **מִן דִּי טַפְלָרְ לַהֲוֵי**? This would relieve the difficulty as to the number of letters missing at the beginning of l. 4 (see pp. 60 *sq.*).

P. 63: Is the phrase **לְמִבְנָא דִּי הִיכְלָא** (l. 5) grammatically justifiable? The traces shown by the fac-simile do not seem to me to indicate **לְמִבְנָא**, moreover. But of course this reproduction is a treacherous guide.

P. 83: The reading **תִּרְךְ** = *thoros* can hardly be right. Aside from the unusual form, the word is altogether out of place here, as Dr. Littmann himself remarks. I would suggest **מִרְךְ** as a possibility. The letter **ת** in this alphabet is an **מ** with the right-hand stroke cut away. The mistake may have been due to the stone-cutter himself, or (more probably) to a defect in the pattern which he copied. The document would then read: ". . . for Him whose name is blessed for ever, the good and merciful one, *our lord*, the holy god." Cf. the inscriptions in Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 295 *sq.*, where Baal-Samin is called **מִרְא עֲלִמָא**.

P. 85: As was remarked above, Dr. Littmann's ingenious restoration of the temple inscription at Si' is convincing except at one point. The phrase **וְחִיְדֵר חִיְךְ בְּשָׁלָם** (his reading of the last fragment, lettered H) is hardly translatable, and could not easily be rendered: "and he departed from life in peace." The most natural way of treating **חִיְךְ** is to regard it as a descriptive or predicate adjective; and in that case we must suppose that some other person or persons, presumably belonging to the family of Maleikat, had just been mentioned. Is it not probable that we do have the ending of such a name, **חִיְךְ** [ע], in the letters immediately preceding the **עֵד**? For example: ". . . he and his brother Ghauthû (while) yet living." The lost fragment, G, was probably longer than is here supposed.

P. 90: I can see no valid objection to reading **הוּ [ו] אֲנִתְחָה**, "he and his wife," in l. 8 of the inscription. It is easy to imagine how the wife might have been honored by mention on the monument, as one who had helped to erect it, although the *expense* had been borne entirely by the husband.

In the Safaitic inscriptions, several of the words which occur more than once seem to call for further discussion. For **מִטְרִי** (Nos. 12, 17, 23) it seems to me that "he was riding" (not on foot), cf. **أَمْطَى**, etc.; or simply "he arrived, passed this way," the *Syriac* **ܡܬܬܪܝܢ**, would suit better than "he made a hurried (or long) journey."

No. 17 is extremely difficult, and perhaps no one can propose any

better solution than the one given here. Still, it is tempting to regard סנח as the beginning of an expression which gave the document a sort of date. May not the following ׀ have been mistakenly written for ה? Observe how very slight is the difference between the two letters in this same inscription. The word following סנח would in that case be בעה (i. e., בִּיעֵה), and the next might possibly be רִץ (روض), "gardens." But it is perhaps useless to add such conjectures as these.

In No. 110, the word נגע can hardly mean "sought for (found?) pasture." It is found in *four* inscriptions (collected here), always just following the words: "A found the inscription of (his friend or relative) B." The coincidence cannot be accidental; the word נגע must express either the result or some attendant circumstance of A's discovery. Its meaning might be "he rejoiced," or "he wished good luck (to B)," or "he (A) was well and prosperous (at the time when he found the writing)." The verb נגַע meets these requirements satisfactorily, for it is a synonym of הִנֵּה, and might have any one of the three meanings just given. The second of them, "he invoked good fortune (or, good health) for him," is perhaps the most probable. Observe, too, that the adverb כִּבֵּר, "much," "very," which follows the word in two of the four inscriptions, is now quite in place.

I cannot see that the meaning of הִרִץ is determined by the picture which accompanies No. 134, even when the other inscriptions containing the word are compared. The *n. pr.* קַעֲצָן might even be the *subject* of the verb; in fact, the inscription and the picture are much more likely to have been made by the one who remained on the spot than by the one who "fled." It is not evident that the horseman in the drawing is "piercing" the standing figure; the latter may be warding off the thrust. It is not safe to draw conclusions from such an artistic effort as this one. Elsewhere in this volume the word הִרִץ occurs in Nos. 59 and 120, neither of which has thus far been satisfactorily translated. In No. 59 the necessity of giving the words פִּהֲלֵת סֶלֶם their usual meaning can hardly be avoided; they should not be separated for any reason short of a certainty. Both here and in No. 134 the word הִרִץ follows the invocation of the god, perhaps by a mere coincidence. In l. 3 of No. 59, הִרִץ and הֵל are printed without the point over the ה—the only misprints which I have noticed in the whole book. Other phrases in which the word occurs are noted on p. 120; it does not seem to me that the meaning "pierce" is justified anywhere.

P. 180: The reading is very difficult. Dr. Littmann gives (tentatively):
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى | هَذَا الْبَيْتُ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ | بَنِ زِيَادَ بْنِ الدِّينِ
 | بَنِ مُحَمَّدٍ | سَنَةِ أَرْبَعٍ وَثَلَاثِائَةِ
 أَتَمَّ | هَذَا |
 I confess that I am unable to see more than half of these words in the facsimile, and some of them seem to me to be impossible. I would read (also tentatively):

to me probable that the last word was intended to be pronounced الجتاد, and was a vulgar formation from the adjective جَد. This rhyming signature would then have the usual tenor: "The man low in station, the servant of the Bountiful One."

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BABEL UND BIBEL.¹

Ernest Sellin, professor of Old Testament exegesis and archæology of the Imperial University at Vienna, wrote in 1903 the following words:² "The fundamental principles of all morality, 'for I desire mercy and not sacrifice; thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' have absolutely no counterpart in Babylon." This is a fair specimen of the groundlessness of attacks made by reactionary scholars against the historical and theological revelations of the Babylonian literature. It has remained for Professor Delitzsch, in his latest popular work *Babel und Bibel*, III, to demonstrate beyond all shadow of a doubt that this statement of Sellin is utterly false.

Hidden in the British Museum are scores of clay tablets which now permit us to get a clear insight into the moral and religious thought of the nobler-minded higher class among the ancient Babylonians. Here we read many proverbs which absolutely set at naught Professor Sellin's prejudiced assertions. The Babylonian religionist was strictly admonished to love, and not to despise, his neighbor, to give him food and drink when needy, and even to treat considerately those whose lot had fallen in slavery. We learn, furthermore, that the Babylonians' God was love, that virtue and right living were not the special gift of one people alone, but that the mercy of God extended as far as the clouds, and the reflection of his glory was to be found in all human hearts (p. 22). Delitzsch points out in this connection that Sellin's words can be refuted from the biblical Book of Kings itself, which closes with the account of a gracious act on the part of the Babylonian king Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, who voluntarily released the captive Judean monarch from his Babylonian prison.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the Hammurabi laws, now well known to all Assyriologists, to show how loving care was prescribed for sick women, widows, and orphans, or to demonstrate how gentleness was commanded toward the poor debtor. Last, but not least, in this connection, it was ordered that every chance should be given the wayward son before his father had the right to cast him off utterly. It can certainly

¹ BABEL UND BIBEL. Dritter (Schluss) Vortrag. Von Friedrich Delitzsch. Mit 21 Abbildungen. Delivered before the Literarische Gesellschaften at Barmen (Cologne) October 27-28, 1904, and before the Verein für Geographie und Statistik at Frankfurt-am-Main, November 9, 1904.

² "Ein Schlusswort zu Babel und Bibel," *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung für Oesterreich*, July 15, 1903.

no longer be contended that love and gentleness were a heritage of the Hebrews alone and were unknown to those who stood high in the life of ancient Babylonia. The following little Babylonian verse, quoted by Delitzsch (p. 22), might well be applied to those who, like Sellin, seek from mistaken motives to darken the light which has come to us from the East :

Open not widely thy mouth : guard thy lips.
If perturbed, speak not at once.
For if thou speakest unguardedly,
Verily thou shalt surely rue it.
Nay! rather soften thy spirit with silence.

The most important function of the popularizer of any new branch of learning is to set forth in concise and clear language the exact value to modern life of the recent discoveries and scientific investigations in the field under discussion. Professor Delitzsch has excelled himself in this final part of his popular Babylonian discussions. It has been well said that no one can present a subject to the general public so satisfactorily as a scholar who, like this distinguished author, is gifted not only in the technicalities of his specialty, but also in the difficult art of attractive presentation. In classical yet easily comprehensible language, Delitzsch has written his work in two sections; *i. e.*, pp. 3-32, where he discusses the immense value of the Babylonian monuments from the point of view of religion and history, and pp. 32-48, where he explains the exact nature of the Babylonian polytheism.

Lack of space forbids more than a mere list here of the chief points treated in the first section. These are: the genealogical tablet, Gen., chap. 10, pp. 3, 4; the non-Semitic (Sumerian) art and culture, pp. 5, 6; the expression "son of man," p. 11 (note 9, p. 51); law, pp. 12, 13, 19; psalmody and instrumentation, pp. 13, 15-18; the moral effect of the Babylonian belief in the Deity, p. 27; and the Babylonian "Holy of Holies," p. 28.

Perhaps even more important than these subjects from the modern point of view is the author's masterly explanation of the development of monotheism from the well-marked early Semitic polytheism. It has long been known that this polytheism was really a henotheism; *i. e.*, a theism local to each district where one special god (a manifestation of nature) was worshiped as the supreme being and honored with titles not unlike those used for Jhvh in the Old Testament. In this manner, the same attributes of universal power were ascribed to different deities in different places without the slightest clashing of interests. Thus, if a Babylonian changed his city, he simply changed his god, and this without any feeling of discrepancy, because the same principles were personified in each deity, and the differences were practically in name only. As Delitzsch states (pp. 38, 39):

Just as it is impossible for the Arab to think that his Allah, the one almighty Creator of heaven and earth whom Mohammed revealed, is any other than Jhvh, the one almighty Creator of heaven and earth, whose worship

Moses kept alive among his people, so the Israelites from the days of their forefathers worshiped the one God under the name Jhvh, the Moabites adored him under the name Kammosh, the Ammonites under the name Milkom, the Decider; but all these nations mutually recognized the individual tribal gods as real and actually existing beings.

This may be shown from a multitude of passages in the Old Testament. The fact is that the special god of a tribe represented the popular unity. Perhaps nowhere is this better exemplified than in the personality of the Assyrian national deity Ašur, which was the peculiarly Assyrian name for the all-powerful God. The doctrine of a "chosen people" common to the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hebrews arose most naturally from this general Semitic conception. It remained for the later Israelitish prophets to crystallize the tribal Jhvh into a God of all the world, but their own writings show what little success they had among the common people, who clung to the national tribal idea long after the last Israelitish prophet had spoken.

These Hebrew prophets, however, had sown the seed of the doctrine of universal Godhead which had always underlain the Semitic ideals of the Divine, and this noble conception was finally developed and "fulfilled" by Jesus, who set it forth in an entirely new and loftier spirit of truth which was destined to live throughout the ages.

Professor Delitzsch has done a great service to all thinking people in this his final utterance on Babylon and the Bible. It is to be hoped that the brochure will soon be translated into other languages for the benefit of those to whom it is as yet a closed book. Meantime, may it find its way into the library of every person who can read German and who feels an interest in the development of modern Theology!

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GESCHICHTE AEGYPTENS IM UMRISSE.¹

For the cultivated German reader, who desires a rapid survey of the career of the Nile valley peoples, no book is obtainable which can be compared with this. It is written with discernment, with a good sense of proportion, with criticism, and with fine literary and artistic taste. The style is balanced and easy, and the little book is eminently readable, in the best sense of the word. It has not been offered as a contribution to research in this field, although the author constantly strives to maintain a control of the sources which will entitle him to independent judgment on the most important questions touched upon. The book shows good power of generalization, and ability to perceive the essential characteristics of an historic period, and to paint them in their proper colors with a few strokes—an ability only too often lacking in the preparation of handbooks of this sort.

¹GESCHICHTE AEGYPTENS IM UMRISSE VON DEN ÄLTESTEN ZEITEN BIS AUF DIE EROBERUNG DURCH DIE ARABER. Von F. W. von Bissing. Berlin, 1904. 185 pp.

In so vast a field as that covered by this book there are many unsettled questions about which opinions may differ, owing to the scanty or equivocal character of the materials. In reading the book I have noted the following matters, which may be modified in a future edition; but it is obviously impossible in the discussion of such a handbook to touch upon all the points of difference suggested.

In the treatment of the relations of the Twelfth Dynasty with Asia, the campaign of Sesostri III. in Sekmem as recorded on the new Abydos stela (Garstang, *El Arabah*, IV-V) is overlooked.

The length of the reign of Seti I. is placed at more than fifty years. This is excessive. I cannot offer all the data here, but it is sufficient to note that the viceroy of Kush, Setau, who entered upon his office not later than the second year of Seti I., still held the post in the thirty-eighth year of Ramses II.'s reign. If Seti I. reigned more than fifty years, Setau was viceroy of Kush for more than eighty-seven years, and lived in the possession of his office, to be more than one hundred and fifteen years old. The above datum alone must hold the reign of Seti I. within the twenties at most.

The "Hierakonpolis-Nechbit" of p. 6 must, of course, be changed to Hierakonpolis-Nechen; for Nechbit is the name of Eileithuia, not of Hierakonpolis.

The northern limit of Uni's levies for the army (p. 21) is totally uncertain on the original, and cannot be rendered the Mediterranean.

The permission to wear sandals at court as a special distinction conferred upon Uni (p. 22) is an old misunderstanding of Maspero. The title given Uni is that of "Sandal-bearer," and several actual sandal-bearers are depicted upon the monuments.

The expedition of Henu, recorded in the Wadi Hamamat, was not accompanied by him to Punt (p. 27) but only to some harbor on the Red Sea, whence Henu dispatched it to Punt.

The supposition that Merneptah ("Amenophthes," p. 70) remained at home in his Libyan war, having been warned by a dream to do so, is again an old mistranslation, due to Chabas,² and accepted and given currency by Maspero. The passage relates a dream indeed, but Ptah appears and, far from warning the old king from the battle, urges him to be of good courage, and gives him a sword, which, we can only conclude, the narrative intends to imply that the king used in the battle. There is not in the brief words spoken by the god, the slightest hint of a warning that the king avoid the battle.

In the account of the expedition of Wenamon to Byblos, the eleven ships mentioned (p. 77), do not belong to Wenamon, but to the piratical Thakkara, who are pursuing him.

It is hardly probable that the system of chronology for the Old and Middle Kingdoms, advocated by the author, will be found tenable. Doubtless the author would not now maintain the validity of the Timaioi

² *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, p. 185; compare with Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 434, where the translation of Chabas appears word for word, including Chabas' restorations.

scholia, which Lepsius long ago recognized as a forgery. The author's otherwise fine sense of form should have relegated all this detailed chronological discussion to an appendix, as it disturbs the continuity of his treatment where it now is.

The present writer would suggest that in the treatment of the Ptolemies all the more complicated details of personal history might well be indicated in a full chronological table, and the text of the book itself devoted to a more general sketch of the great movements and larger features which characterize this interesting period. However, in making this and all the above remarks, the present writer would again express his appreciation of the care and labor expended on the book, and his conviction that it forms a very welcome addition to the literature of the subject—one, indeed, which is to prove useful and profitable to many readers, especially to the modern voyager up the Nile, for whom it is by all odds the best compendium of Egyptian history to be had in German.

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THE PLURALIS INTENSIVUS IN HEBREW.

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A. Plural Expressions for Natural Objects.

The 'pluralis intensivus' was in all probability employed at first to denote the wide phenomena of nature. Several phenomena in the universe were designated in Hebrew by plural expressions because they inspired the Hebrew mind with the idea of *greatness, majesty, grandeur, and holiness*. A correct understanding of the 'pluralis intensivus' becomes thus of great importance in reconstructing the cosmological ideas of the ancient Hebrews.

In several passages in the OT the plurals יַמִּים 'seas' and נְהָרוֹת 'rivers' are employed to designate The Universal Sea (Ὠκεανός), which was believed by the ancients to flow around the whole earth.¹ Cf. the Babylonian map in Notes on Ezekiel (SBOT) p. 100. We read in the beginning of Ps. 24 (vv. 1 and 2):

לִיהוָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאָתָהּ תִּבְלַל יוֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ;
בִּיהוָה עַל-יַמִּים יִסְדָּהּ וְעַל-נְהָרוֹת יִכְוִנֶנָּה;

The world is JHVH's and the fulness thereof,
the world and they that dwell therein.

For He has founded it on The Great Sea (lit. *seas*)
and established it on The Great River (lit. *rivers*).

Duhm explains יַמִּים as a poetical plural for the prosaic יָם.
Baethgen understands both יַמִּים and נְהָרוֹת as numerical plurals,

¹ Cf. the Chaldee paraphrase of Ecc. 1, 7: כָּל נַחְלִיא וּמִבְרַעֵי מֵיָא אֶזְלִין וְנִגְדִין לְמִי אֻקְיִינוּס דְּמִסְחָר דְּעֵלְמָא כְּגֻשְׁפִּנְקָא
and flow into the Oceanus, which encircles the earth like a ring.'

referring the latter to the streams of the ocean (*cf.* Jon. 2, 4). These plurals must rather be explained as *intensive*, denoting *boundless extent*. See Notes on Ezekiel (Eng. transl.) p. 157, l. 22.

With regard to metre, the first section of the psalm (vv. 1-6) must be divided into three stanzas; each stanza comprises a couplet of two מִשְׁלִים, *i. e.*, double-hemistichs; each hemistich contains three beats. The couplet of two double-hemistichs, with three beats in each hemistich, is, according to Professor Haupt, the most common form of Hebrew poetry. See *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163 (June, 1903) p. 54, col. 2. *Cf.* his remarks in *Crit. Notes on Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 33, l. 3, and *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 19, last paragraph. The plural יַמִּים denotes The Universal Sea also in Gen. 1, 10; *cf.* Gunkel, *Genesis*, ad locum.

In a number of passages the pl. יַמִּים = הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל The Great Sea, *i. e.*, the Mediterranean; *e. g.*, Gen. 49, 13, זְבֻלֹן לְחוּץ יַמִּים 'Zebulun will dwell on the shore of the great sea'; Judg. 5, 17, אֲשֶׁר יָשָׁב לְחוּץ יַמִּים 'Asher sat still on the shore of the great sea'; *cf.* also Deut. 33, 19; Ezek. 26, 17; 27, 4; Dan. 11, 45. The pl. יַמִּים is sometimes employed poetically for the sing. יָם, especially in the phrase הוֹל יַמִּים 'the sand of the sea'; *cf.* Jer. 15, 8; Job 6, 3, etc.

In Pss. 137, 1 and 89, 25 the pl. נְהָרוֹת 'rivers' is equivalent to הַנְּהָר הַגָּדוֹל, *i. e.*, the Euphrates. We read in the first stanza of Ps. 137 (vv. 1 and 2):

שָׁם יִשְׁכְּנוּ	עַל-נְהָרוֹת בָּבֶל
בְּזָכְרֵנוּ אֶת-צִיּוֹן :	גַּם בְּכִנְנוּ
תְּלִינֵנוּ כַּפְּרוֹתֵינוּ :	עַל-עֲרֵבִים בְּחוֹמָהּ

By Babel's River
And tears were shedding
On willows there

there we sat
on Zion thinking,
our harps we hung.

The psalm falls into triplets of double-hemistichs, each hemistich containing two beats (2+2).

Ps. 89, 26.

וְשִׁמְתִּי בְיָם יְדוֹ וּבַנְּהָרוֹת יְמִינוֹ :

I will lay his hand on the sea,
on The Great River his right hand.

This verse pictures the ideal boundaries of the Davidic Kingdom. It is to extend from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.¹

The plural נְדָרוֹת in these two passages is explained by some modern scholars² to mean the Euphrates and its canals regarded as branches. Duhm reads the sing. נָדָר in the second passage. The most probable explanation of the plural form נְדָרוֹת is, however, that it is *intensive* = The Great River, i. e., the Euphrates.³

According to Haupt,⁴ אֲשֶׁר מֵעֵבֶר לְנָהָרִי כוּשׁ Is. 18, 1 means *beyond the Great River Cush*, i. e., the upper course of the Nile.⁵

In the same way Haupt explains יְאֵרִי מִצְרַיִם (or יְאֵרִי מִצְוֹר) Is. 7, 18; 19, 6; 37, 25 to mean *The Great River of Egypt*, i. e., the Nile.⁶ Compare also יְאֵרֵיהֶם Ps. 78, 44. According to Marti (*Buch Jesaja*, p. 153) and others⁷ the pl. יְאֵרִים is used of the branches of the Delta. It is better, however, to explain it as *pluralis intensivus*. In Ezek. 29, 3–5 both the singular and the plural are employed to designate the Nile. Toy (in SBOT) is inclined to change the plurals to singulars, but this is unnecessary, as they may be explained as *intensive*.⁸ Compare Ezek. 30, 12.

In a number of passages in the OT (Ex. 15, 5. 8; Is. 63, 13; 78, 15; 106, 9) תְּהוֹמוֹת (pl. of תְּהוֹם 'abyss,' 'deep')⁹ is *pluralis intensivus*, = The Great Deep. In nearly all these passages the plural refers to the Red Sea. In Ps. 78, 15 it is used of the subterranean waters.¹⁰

Ps. 106, 9.

וַיִּגְזַר בַּיָּם-סוּף וַיַּחֲרֹב וַיִּלְכְּם בַּתְּהוֹמוֹת כַּמְדָּבָר׃

He rebuked the Red Sea and it was dried up,
He led them through the Great Deep as through pasture land.

¹ Cf. Josh. 1, 4.

² Baethgen and others.

³ See Haupt's note in Wellhausen's translation of the Psalms, p. 182, l. 30.

⁴ See Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT) p. 108, ll. 50 ff.

⁵ Cf. the article on Cush in Cheyne-Black's EB and Cheyne's *Critica Biblica*.

⁶ Cf. Egyptian 'io(t)r'o' the great river, i. e., the Nile.

⁷ Cf. W. Max Müller's article on the Nile in Cheyne-Black's EB.

⁸ البحر 'sea' is used of the Euphrates and the Nile. The Babylonians called the Persian Gulf nāru marratu.

⁹ Cf. Assy. tiāmtu, tāmtu, tāmdu.

¹⁰ Cf. Gen. 49, 25 'the deep that coucheth beneath.'

Ex. 15, 3-5.¹

3 אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ :
4 פָּרָעָה וְחֵילָו יְהוָה בֵּינָם

וּמִבְּחַר שְׁלֵשִׁיר טָבָעוּ בֵּימִי-סוּף :
5 תְּהוֹמוֹת יַם-סוּף יָרְדוּ בַּמְצוּלָתִי :

5 (γ) כְּמוֹ אֲבָן

4 (β) מִרְכָּבָה

3 (α) יְהוָה

3 A man of warfare JHVH His name is,
4 The king and his army He cast in the sea;

His choicest charioteers were whelmed in the Red Sea,
5 Engulfed by the Ocean, they sank in the deep.

In Ps. 78, 15 the pl. תְּהוֹמוֹת is joined to the singular attribute רֶבֶה, and is employed for the more common form תְּהוֹם רֶבֶה (Gen. 7, 11; 49, 25).

Ps. 78, 15.

יִבְקַע צִירִים בַּמַּדְבָּר וַיִּשֶׁק פְּתוֹחוֹת רֶבֶה :

He clave rocks in the desert, He gave them to drink as from
the Great Deep.

Most modern exegetes² believe that רֶבֶה is not co-ordinated to תְּהוֹמוֹת, but is employed adverbially; cf., however, אֲדָרִים קָשָׁה Is. 19, 4 and אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק Ps. 7, 10. The LXX and Jerome understood it as an attribute of תְּהוֹמוֹת. Graetz suggests עֲרִיבָה for רֶבֶה. I believe, however, that it is preferable to explain the plural as *intensivus*. With the *intensive* use of the pl. תְּהוֹמוֹת compare אֶרֶץ תְּהוֹמוֹת Is. 44, 23; אֶרֶץ תְּהוֹמוֹת Ezek. 26, 20; 32, 18, 24; בּוֹר תְּהוֹמוֹת Ps. 88, 7; מַעְמָקִים Is. 51, 10; Ps. 69, 3, 15; 130, 1; מְצוּלוֹת Ex. 15, 5; Mich. 7, 19; Ps. 68, 23; 88, 7; Neh. 9, 11.

In several passages in the OT (Ps. 87, 1; 110, 3') the Temple Mount is denoted by הַרְרֵי קֹדֶשׁ 'the holy mountains' (lit. *the mountains of holiness*), i. e., The Great Holy Mountain.⁴ Com-

¹ I have followed the text and translation of this passage given by Professor Haupt in his article, "Moses' Song of Triumph," *AJSL.*, Vol. XX, No. 3, pp. 149-72.

² Baethgen, Duham, Haupt, etc.; see also Gesenius-Kautsch², p. 435, footnote 2.

³ In this passage we must read (with Symm. and Jerome) הַרְרֵי for הַרְרֵי.

⁴ Cf. Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur hebr. Grammatik*, p. 23, below; Baethgen, *Psalmen*, p. 264.

pare צִיּוֹן הָרִי Ps. 133, 3; הָרִי שְׁמֵרֹן Am. 3, 9; עִיר קְדֻשָּׁה (of Jerusalem) Is. 64, 9.¹

The pl. הַרְמוֹנִים Ps. 42, 7, lit. 'the Hermons' is *intensivus*, being equivalent to 'The Gigantic Hermon.'² The plural is usually explained, however, to refer to the triple peaks of Mount Hermon.³ If this explanation is correct it would be rather a strange way of expressing the several peaks of Mt. Hermon. The explanation is forced and very improbable. The plural is more likely *intensive*, denoting the gigantic size of the mountain.

We shall now discuss the *intensive* use of the various plural expressions in Hebrew denoting 'heaven,' especially שָׁמַיִם, which is the most common of these terms. Before doing this, however, it will be necessary to consider the question as to whether the idea of a plurality of heavens was familiar to the ancient Hebrews. Some scholars⁴ have recently answered this in the affirmative, on the following grounds, viz.: (a) the conception of a sevenfold division of the heavens among the Babylonians; (b) the invariable use of the pl. form שָׁמַיִם, the general word for 'heaven' in Hebrew; but more especially, (c) the phrase 'the heaven of heavens' (שָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם) which occurs in several passages in the OT (Deut. 10, 14; 1 Ki. 8, 27; Ps. 148, 4).

These grounds are, however, by no means convincing; they are not even quite correct. There is really no explicit reference to a series of heavens in the Assyro-Babylonian Literature; still less to a sevenfold division of the heavens.⁵ The meaning of the so-called 7 tubuqati⁷ is by no means certain; while the plural forms šame and šamamu in themselves do not prove anything, inasmuch as they may be explained as *intensive plurals*. Nor

¹ Cf. on יְרוּשָׁלַיִם Is. 40, 9, p. 227.

² Cf. Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur hebr. Grammatik*, p. 18; Haupt's note in Wellhausen's translation of the Psalms (in SBOT) p. 182, l. 30.

³ Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, New York, 1895, p. 477, note 1; Baethgen, Duhm, etc.

⁴ The form שָׁמַיִם is to be explained with Haupt (see Crit. Notes on Isaiah (SBOT) p. 157, l. 18 ff.) as a remnant of the old 'plural of the accusative.' The oldest form must have been šamāma. By dissimilation we get šamāmi, and by epenthesis of the final i we have šamāimi, from which, by dropping the final short vowel, we get šamāim. In the same way we must explain the plurals מַיִם, עֲרֵבִים, מִקְהָלִים, and מִקְהָלִים (Cant. 1, 1). Cf. Haupt, *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 57, n. on מִקְהָלִים; cf. also Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 270, n. 4, and the references there given.

⁵ Cf. Salmond's article on 'Heaven' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 2, p. 321b, below; Cremer's article on *Himmel* in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*, and KAT³, p. 615. See also Duhm, *Psalmen*, p. 300, n. on Ps. 148, 4, and Baethgen, *Psalmen*, p. 432, n. on the same passage.

⁶ See KAT³, p. 615, second paragraph.

⁷ *Ibid.*

does the invariable use of pl. שָׁמַיִם prove the correctness of the affirmative view, as the pl., like šame and šamamu, may be *intensive*. If the pl. שָׁמַיִם be numerical, it is rather difficult to understand why the first word of the phrase שָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם 'the heaven of heavens' (which is explained by those who favor the affirmative reply to mean 'the highest heaven') should be in the plural. A careful examination of the individual passages in which שָׁמַיִם is found will show almost conclusively that in many instances the plural cannot be numerical, *e. g.*, Is. 40, 22, הַנּוֹטָה כִּדָּק שָׁמַיִם *that stretcheth out heaven as a curtain*. If שָׁמַיִם were a numerical plural we should expect כְּדָקִים *as curtains*. The pl. שָׁמַיִם is moreover frequently employed in parallelism with the sing. רָקִיעַ 'firmament.' For example, we read at the beginning of Ps. 19:

כְּבוֹד אֵל	הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים
מִגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ :	וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו

The heavens declare	the glory of God,
And the firmament proclaims	his handiwork.

In Gen. 1, 8 it is stated וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לָרָקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם *And God called the firmament Heaven*.

But the evidence which is most decidedly in favor of the affirmative reply is said to be the phrase 'the heaven of heavens.' I believe, however, that the meaning usually given to this phrase is incorrect. It does not denote that there are a number of distinct heavens, but refers rather to the immeasurable reaches in the heavenly space. The expression imparts a superlative idea, denoting heaven in the broadest sense, as extending to the uttermost heavenly limits, as in the somewhat similar English expression 'heaven piled on heavens.'¹

There is, therefore, no clear evidence that the conception of a series of heavens is found in the OT,² the evidence being rather in favor of the negative view. The plural form does not designate distinct heavens of various elevations; nor is there inherent in

¹ Cf. Henry D. Northrop, *Earth, Sea, and Sky*, p. 784.

² The idea of a plurality of heavens is, however, very common in the Rabbinical Literature, and in the Apocalyptic and other pseudepigraphic books, both Jewish and Christian. The conception was probably borrowed from the Persians. Rabbinical and apocryphal literature speaks of seven or ten heavens. Cf. Hagigah 12b; Kautzsch, "Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments," II, 121; Charles, "Book of the Secrets of Enoch," pp. xxx *et seq.* Cf. also Slavonic Enoch, viii. 1; II Cor., xii. 2 *et seq.*; Ex. R. xxxi, 4. There are also the seven heavens of Mohammed. The cabalists likewise speak of seven heavens, each rising in happiness above the other.

the plural 'the idea of a whole composed of innumerable separate points,'¹ or, as Ewald states it, that the plural is used as one of the names of regions that are 'infinitely divisible.' It is best explained as *pluralis intensivus*, denoting *boundless extent* and *majesty*, designating *the great and majestic heaven*. Of course, this was only the original force of the plural. In the course of time, however, the plural lost a great deal of its original *intensive* force, and came to mean simply 'heaven.'² This explains its general occurrence in ordinary prose.³

With שָׁמַיִם compare Assyr. šame and šamāmu (the singular šamtu being uncommon), Palm. (בעל) שִׁמְיָן, Syr. مَعْمَن, Arabic له ما في السموات وما في الأرض 2, 256. Cf. Coran, 2, 256. Saadya, however, often translates Hebr. שָׁמַיִם by the singular, e. g. he renders Gen. 1, 1 אֵלֹהִים בָּרָא אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ and the Ethiopic Bible has baqadāmi gabra Egzi'abḥer šamāja uamedra. Cf. Barth in ZDMG 42, 341.

The plural מְרוֹמִים (from a stem רוּם 'to be high') 'heights' is in a number of passages employed as a synonym of שָׁמַיִם.⁴ Cf. Is. 33, 16; Job 16, 19; 25, 2; 31, 2; Ps. 148, 1; Ecc. 10, 6.

Similarly, the plurals מַעְלִיּוֹת and עֲלִיּוֹת (from the stem עלה 'to go up') 'upper stories' are employed as names for the boundless heavenly regions, regarded as the abode of God.⁵

Ps. 104, v. 3.

הַמַּקְרֶה בַּמַּיִם עֲלִיּוֹתָיו הַשָּׁם עֲבִים רְכוֹבוֹ;

Who places the beams of His Great Upper Story in the waters
Who makes the clouds His chariot.

The pl. עֲלִיּוֹת is *intensive*, denoting *greatness*, *majesty*, and *holiness*. Wellhausen renders it by the plural, and refers the

¹ Lehr. d. hebr. Spr., p. 410.

² The etymology of שָׁמַיִם is uncertain. Hommel, followed by Prof. Haupt (see Crit. Notes on Isaiah [in SBOT] p. 157), explains it as a causative form of מָיִם 'water.' In support of this view cf. especially Jensen in KB 6, 486, ad l. 47. A somewhat similar explanation is found in the Babylonian Talmud, Hagigah 12a: מִה שָׁמַיִם אָמַר רַבִּי יוֹסִי בֶן חֲנִינְיָה שָׁשִׁים מֵיִם.

³ Cf. Kimchi's note on Gen. 1, 8. Its synonyms מְרוֹמִים, עֲלִיּוֹת (Ps. 104, 3, 13) and מַעְלִיּוֹת (Am. 9, 6) point, however, to the correctness of the older derivation from an unused stem שָׁמָה (Arab. سَمَا) 'to be high,' unless the stem سَمَا be denominative.

⁴ Cf. Ethiopic pl. 'a rjām.

⁵ Cf. Dietrich, Abhandlungen zur hebr. Grammatik, p. 19.

⁶ Gesenius-Kautsch²⁷, p. 402b.

'upper stories' to the *seven heavens*.¹ This rendering would be correct if we could prove that the conception of a plurality of heavens was familiar to the Hebrews.

Ibid., v. 13.

משקה הרים מעליותיו מפרי מעשיך חשבך הארץ :

Who waters the mountains from His Great Upper Story,
From the fruit of Thy works is the earth satisfied.

Am. 9, v. 6.

הבונה בשמים מעליותיו ואגדתו על-ארץ יסדה
הקורא למי הים וישפכם על-פני הארץ :

Who buildeth His Great Upper Story in heaven,
And His vault over the earth He hath founded ;
Who calleth for the waters of the sea,
And over the face of the earth He poureth them out.

Here the pl. מעליות is used in parallelism with the sing. אגדה ; the plural is *intensive*. Cf. Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur hebr. Grammatik*, p. 19.

B. Plural Expressions for Mythological Monsters.

Throughout the OT we find frequent allusions to a mythological monster or dragon who was supposed to inhabit the Deep. This sea-monster is referred to as *Rahab* (רָהַב), *Leviathan* (לְוִיָּתָן), or simply as 'the monster' (הַתַּיִם). In the passages in which the mythological monster is alluded to we have an echo of the old Babylonian myth of *Tiāmat* (Heb. תִּיַּמָּת), a female dragon who personified the Primeval Ocean. See Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), especially pp. 81–86; KAT¹, pp. 509–511.

This monstrous dragon is in several passages designated by the plural. The plural is the same which is employed to denote natural objects, inasmuch as the sea-dragon, just as *Tiāmat* in the Babylonian myth, was originally a personification of the primeval ocean-flood. Before discussing the several passages in which the mythological monster is denoted by plural expressions it may perhaps be advisable to refer to the most important passages in the OT in which he is undoubtedly alluded to.

¹ Cf. Notes on Psalms (Eng. trans.) p. 203, l. 41.

Am. 9, 3:

And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence, and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the dragon, and he shall bite them.

In several passages allusions are made to a contest of JHVH with the mythological monster in primeval times, *e. g.*, Is. 51, 9:

Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of JHVH!
Awake as in the days of old, the generations of ancient times!
Was it not Thou who didst shatter¹ Rahab, pierced the dragon?

In Job 7, 12 we read:

Am I the sea or dragon
That thou settest a watch over me?

In the last passage the sea is personified as a dragon, and brings to mind the Babylonian myth of Tiamat.

Again in Job 26, 12 we read:

With his power he stirred up the sea,
And by his understanding he shattered Rahab.
By his spirit heaven was made bright;
His hand has pierced the fugitive serpent.

In this passage the piercing of the dragon is connected with the fashioning of heaven, and it reminds us of the Babylonian myth in which Marduk splits the carcass of the female dragon Tiamat in two, out of one part making heaven, and out of the other, earth.² These examples are sufficient to show that we have unmistakable allusions to a mythological sea-monster in the OT. The several passages in which this monster is denoted by plural expressions will now be discussed.

According to Ps. 74, 13, 14 the contest of JHVH with the mythological dragon had taken place in remote antiquity, before the creation of the earth, in which the dragon was slain. The pl. תַּנִּינִים v. 13 is best explained as *intensive*, equal to The Huge Dragon. The pl. רִאשֵׁי in vv. 13 and 14 may be taken as *numerical*, referring to the fact that the monster was conceived as having more than one head; it may, however, also be explained as *intensive*, equal to The Great Head. In v. 14b read with

¹ Read (with Houbigant, Lagarde, Cheyne, etc.) הַפְּתִיעָה for הַפְּתִיעָה, as in Job 26, 26.

² Cf. *Babylonian Creation-Story*, Book IV, ll. 129-142.

Hitzig and Wellhausen¹ לַעַם for **לַעַם**. The passage is in 2 + 2 meter, as follows:

בַּעֲזָה יָם	אַתָּה פִּירִיתָ	13
תְּנִינִים עַל־הַמַּיִם :	שִׁבְרֵת רֹאשׁוֹ	
רֹאשׁוֹ לַיָּתָן	אַתָּה רִצַּצְתָּ	
לֶעֱס לַצִּיּוֹנִים :	תַּחֲנוּנוֹ מֵאֵכָל	

Thou hast smashed	with thy strength the sea,
Thou hast broken the heads	of the huge dragon upon the waters.
Thou hast crushed	the heads of Leviathan,
Thou hast given it for food	as meat to the wild beasts.

In this passage יָם, תְּנִינִים, and לַיָּתָן are synonymous terms for the mythological sea-dragon. That the pl. תְּנִינִים refers to one monster is shown by its being used in parallelism with יָם. Cf. Job 7, 12. The whole passage alludes to the contest of JHVH with the mythological sea-dragon, and not as Baethgen and others maintain,² to the drowning of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea. Cf. on this passage KAT³, p. 507 f., and 511.

In Ps. 89, 11 Rahab is referred to as אֹיְבִים 'enemies,' i. e., The Great Enemy (of God).

פָּחַלְלָהּ רָהַב	אַתָּה רָפָאתָ
בְּזִרְזֶה עֲזָרְךָ	פְּאֵרֶת אֹיְבֶיךָ :

Thou didst crush Rahab	as a dishonored corpse, ³
With thy strong arm	thou didst scatter thy great enemy.

The last hemistich means *Thou didst scatter the bones of Thy great enemy to the four winds*; cf. Ps. 53, 6. According to Duhm, Gunkel, and others, we have in the pl. אֹיְבֶיךָ an allusion to the *helpers of Rahab* mentioned in Job 9, 13.⁴ This is rather forced. Still less likely is the view of Baethgen and others who interpret the passage (as also Ps. 74, 13, 14; cf. preceding page) of the drowning of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea. The poet is speaking of primeval times, and v. 11 refers to the contest of JHVH with the mythological monster, which took place before the creation of the world.

¹ See Crit. Notes on Psalms (SBOT) p. 89, l. 46.

² Cf. Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 8, p. 179.

³ For the rendering of פָּחַלְלָהּ see Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), p. 33, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. KAT³, p. 511.

בְּהֵמוֹת 'beasts' (Job 40, 15-24; Is. 30, 6) = The Colossal Beast. It is advocated by modern critics that בְּהֵמוֹת, the animal which is poetically described in Job 40, 15-24¹ is a Hebraized form of an Egyptian word for the *hippopotamus* (p-ehe-mau 'water-ox'),² but there does not seem to be any philological basis for this view. Moreover, it is more than doubtful whether such a word as p-ehe-mau exists at all in Egyptian (F. C. Cook). It is preferable to explain בְּהֵמוֹת as the plural form of בְּהֵמָה 'beast,' and in the passage under consideration the plural is not *numerical*, but *intensive*, and means The Colossal Beast or The Colossal Monster.

As to what special animal was intended in the description the authorities vary. Sa'adya translated *Behemoth* by the Arabic word for the *rhinoceros*. Shultens identified it with the elephant.³ Most modern exegetes, however, think that the *hippopotamus* is the animal intended, and there is really nothing in the description which does not well apply to this animal. But while it is true that the poet is giving us a description of some real animal which existed at his time, there are some elements in the description which seem to require a mythological explanation,⁴ and which lead us to suppose that originally *Behemoth* was the name of a mythological monster, and was later transformed to some real, colossal animal (probably the hippopotamus). So that we have in the description a fusion of the real characteristics of the hippopotamus with some mythological conceptions of a mythical dragon. The poet did not have in mind a distinct mythological being, but the description has a mythological basis. The passage which especially invites a mythological explanation is verse 19, in which Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 62) reads: בְּהֵמוֹת יִגְשׁוּ הָרִבּוֹ for הָרִבּוֹ יִגְשׁוּ בְּהֵמוֹת. The verse according to Gunkel reads therefore:

הוּא רִאשִׁית דְּרִכֵּי־אֵל הָעֹשִׂי יִגְשׁוּ הָרִבּוֹ:

He is the firstling of the ways of God,
Created that he may rule the dry land.

¹ This passage is considered by Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*, p. 56), Dillmann, Kuenen, Ewald, Duhm, and others as having been inserted in the original poem by a later hand.

² Cf. Ewald, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 317; Dillmann, *Hiob*, p. 344; Duhm, *Hiob*, p. 196; and others have held the same opinion, following Jablonsky and Sholz.

³ Alb. Schultens, *Liber Jobi cum nova versione ad Hebr. fontem et commentario perpetuo*, Leiden 1737, pp. 1146-1149.

⁴ Cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 62 ff.

According to Gunkel both *Leviathan* (the description of whom in Job follows immediately after that of Behemoth) and *Behemoth* are primarily Babylonian, mythical dragons. He identifies *Leviathan* with *Tiāmat*, the dragon of the Deep, and *Behemoth*, the lord of the dry land, he identifies with *Kingu*, the consort of *Tiāmat*.¹ But, whatever may be said of the mythological interpretation of the passage, one thing seems to be certain: **בְּהֵמוֹת** is not a Hebraized form of Egyptian p-ehe-mau, but the plural of the common Hebrew word for 'beast.' It is *pluralis intensivus*, meaning The Colossal Beast.

The second passage in which **בְּהֵמוֹת** is employed as *pluralis intensivus* is Is. 30, 6 (about 703 B. C.), in the expression **נְבִיא בְּהֵמוֹת נֹגֵב** which should be rendered 'Oracle of the great monster (Behemoth) of the south land.' This is the heading of a fragmentary prophecy on Egypt. *Behemoth* is here used, as *Rahab* in v. 7 and several other passages in the OT, as a symbol for Egypt.² **נֹגֵב** designates here Egypt, as in Dan. 8, 9; 11, 5 ff. The fragmentary prophecy consists of only two verses (vv. 7 and 8) which may be rendered as follows:

Through a land of distress and difficulty whence come lioness and lion, viper and dragon, they carry their wealth upon the back of young asses, and their treasures on the humps of camels, to a nation that profits nothing. And Egypt—vain and empty—is their help; therefore do I name this: *Rahab the Silenced*.³

Delitzsch finds a reference to the monster Behemoth also in Ps. 73, 22:

וְאֲנִי-בֶטֶר וְלֹא אֶדָּע בְּהֵמוֹת הָיִיתִי עֲפָה:

which he renders:

Ich wär' ein Dummer und verstandlos,
Ein Untier wär' ich gegendlich.

I should be a foolish one, without understanding,
I should be a monster before thee.

While I believe that the pl. **בְּהֵמוֹת** in this passage is probably *intensive*, I do not think that it contains any allusion to the ani-

¹ See KAT³, p. 511.

² Cf. the bear as symbol of Russia, the lion of England, etc.

³ Reading (with Heusler, Gunkel, Budde, Cheyne, and others) **וְהָיָה הָיִתָּה** for **וְהָיָה הָיִתָּה**, Duhm reads **וְהָיָה הָיִתָּה** *Rahab of the wastes*, and Marti conjectures **בְּהֵמוֹת נֹגֵב**.

mal described in Job 40, 15-24. From the fact that it is used in parallelism with בֶּצֶר 'stupid,' 'brutish,' the meaning of the word must be something like *a most stupid beast*. The plural is here employed to intensify the stupidity and ignorance of the beast.

Graetz, who never hesitated to make gratuitous conjectures reads תְּבוּנוֹת הַסִּדְתִּי 'I was devoid of understanding' for תְּבוּנוֹת הַיָּדִי. Wellhausen substitutes the singular; so, too, Duhm. For the plural cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs, p. 40, l. 50; see below, p. 228.

C. Plural Expressions for Deities and the Appurtenances of God.

Various theories have been advanced to explain the use of the plural form אֱלֹהִים as a designation of the God of Israel.¹ Least plausible is the view of the old theologians, beginning with Peter Lombard (12th century), that we have in the plural form a reference to the Trinity.² Some modern scholars explain it as a relic of an earlier polytheism. This view was advanced by Baudissin,³ Meyer,⁴ Hermann Schultz,⁵ Ewald,⁶ Renan,⁷ W. Robertson Smith,⁸ and others. As to how, according to this view, the originally numerical plural came to be employed to designate a single deity Robertson Smith gave the following explanation (*The Religion of the Semites*, p. 445):

The *Elohim* of a place originally meant all its sacred denizens, viewed collectively as an indeterminate sum of indistinguishable beings, the transition to the use of the plural in a singular sense would follow naturally, as soon as this indeterminate conception gave way to the conception of an individual god of the sanctuary.⁹

¹ The plural *Elohim* is in several passages (Judges 11, 24; 1 Ki. 11, 5; 2 Ki. 1, 2, etc.) also employed to designate single heathen deities.

² Cf. Deyling, *Observat.*, II, pp. 16, 17.

³ *Semitische Religions-Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1876), I, pp. 55-65.

⁴ *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Vol. I, p. 376.

⁵ *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (Göttingen, 1889), p. 110.

⁶ *Geschichte Israels*, 3 Aufl., II, 56.

⁷ *Histoire du peuple d'Israel*, I, p. 85 f.

⁸ *Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 445.

⁹ The polytheistic explanation of אֱלֹהִים can be traced back to Talmudic times. But the polytheists of the Talmud based their polytheism rather on the fact that אֱלֹהִים is sometimes construed with a plural verb than on the plural form of אֱלֹהִים itself. We read in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin, 38b): "Rabbi Johanan said: whenever in a Biblical passage the heretics seem to find a support for their polytheism, their refutation is always nearby. If it be said (Gen. 1, 26) 'Let us make (נַעֲשֶׂה pl.) man in our image,' it is added 'and God created (יָצַק sing.) man in his image'; (*ibid.* 11, 7) 'Let us go down (נֵרְדָּה pl.) and let us confound (נִכְלֶה pl.) their language,' however (*ibid.* 11, 15) 'And the Lord came

The usage of the language, however, gives no support to this theory. That the language of the OT has entirely given up the idea of plurality in אֱלֹהִים (as applied to the God of Israel) is especially shown by the fact that it is almost invariably construed with a singular verbal predicate, and takes a singular adjectival attribute. I say with Nöldeke that "even if there should be in the plural form some trace of polytheism, it would only point to polytheistic ideas in old, prehistoric times. But this is not at all likely."¹ אֱלֹהִים must rather be explained as an *intensive plural*, denoting *greatness* and *majesty*, being equal to The Great God. It ranks with the plurals אֱדָנִים and בְּעָלִים, employed with reference to human beings. Cf. Assy. *ilāni* 'gods' as *pluralis intensivus*; Phoen. אֱלֹם used in a singular sense; Ethiop. 'amlāk (plural of the unused sing. mālēk 'King') employed as the general name for 'God.'

In the same way a number of other plurals are used in a singular sense when employed to designate the 'Deity.' The most common of these are: אֲדֹנָיִם 'Lord,' Mal. 1, 6 (especially common with suffixes); קְדוֹשִׁים *the Most Holy*, Hos. 12, 1; Prov. 9, 10; 30, 3, and probably also Job 15, 15 (cf. אֱלֹהִים קְדוֹשִׁים Josh. 24, 19); Aramaic עֲלִיזָן *the Most High*, Dan. 7, 18. 22. 25. 27; in Dan. 4, 23 the pl. שָׁמַיָּא 'heavens' is used as a name of God.

In Job 34, 18 נְדִיבִים 'nobles' is *pluralis intensivus*, equal to The Exceedingly Noble, i. e., God.² Job complained that God had afflicted him unjustly, and he also questioned the justice of God in the ruling of the Universe. Elihu replies that injustice is inconsistent with the very idea of God; he says (Job 34, 17. 19):

down (יֵרֵד sing.) to see the city and the tower'; (*ibid.* 35, 7) 'For then God appeared (נִגְלָה pl.) unto him,' however (*ibid.* 35, 3) 'who answered (וַעֲנָה sing.) me in the day of my distress'; (Dent. 4, 7) 'For what nation is there so great who has God so nigh (אֱלֹהִים) as JHVH our God in all things that we call upon him (אֱלֹהֵינוּ sing.) for'; (2 Sam. 7, 23) 'And what one nation upon the earth is like thy people, like Israel whom God went (וָיָחֳלָה pl.) to redeem for a people for himself' (לִּי sing.); (Dan. 7, 9) 'The thrones (כִּסְאוֹת pl.) were set, and one ancient (עַתִּיק sing.) of days sat down' (יָרַב sing.). But why employ the plural at all? This is in accordance with Rabbi Johanan, who said: 'The Holy One, blessed be He! never does anything before consulting the heavenly household, as we read (Dan. 4, 14) 'By the decree of the watchers in this matter, and by the word of the holy ones.'"

¹ Nöldeke, Review of Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte* in ZDMG, Vol. XLII, p. 476: "selbst wenn darin etwas Polytheismus steckte, so könnte das doch nur für uralte, vorgeschichtliche Zeiten gelten. Aber nicht einmal dies ist irgend wahrscheinlich."

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautsch³⁷, pp. 404. 405.

³ Comp. Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob* (1902) p. 173, note on 34, 18.

- 17 הָאֵת-שׁוֹנֵא מִשְׁפָּט יִחְבֹּשׁ וְאִם-צַדִּיק בְּבִיר תִּרְשִׁיעַ:
 18 הָאֵמֹר לַמֶּלֶךְ בְּלִיעֵל רָשָׁע אֶל נְדִיבִים:
 19 אֲשֶׁר-לֹא נָשָׂא פְנֵי-שָׂרִים וְלֹא נִפְרִשׁוּעַ לַפְּנִידָל
 בִּרְמִישׁוֹ יָדָיו בָּלֶם

- 34, 17 Is it possible that he who hateth justice should rule,
 And wilt thou condemn the Righteous One, the Mighty One?
 18 Can one say unto the King (*i. e.*, God) "Worthless One,"
 Or "Wicked One" unto *The Exceedingly Noble*,
 19 Who showeth no partiality to princes,
 Nor regardeth the opulent before the poor,
 Because they are all the works of His hands?"

Budde and Duhm read with the LXX הָאֵמֹר for הָאֵת-שׁוֹנֵא (v. 18). According to them the meaning of the verse is: How can you (Job) condemn God who says even to a king 'worthless one,' or 'wicked ones' to princes? But if this were the meaning of the verse we should expect the pl. רָשָׁעִים instead of the singular. Both the context and the grammatical construction show that the pl. נְדִיבִים is *intensivus*, like אֱלֹהִים and קְדוֹשִׁים, and refers to God. In Ecc. 5, 7 גְּבוּרִים is *pluralis intensivus*, and means The Most High, *i. e.*, God. Before discussing, however, this much disputed plural it will be necessary to make a few preliminary remarks with regard to the meaning and position of vv. 7 and 8. These two verses must be explained, with Haupt, as a misplaced polemical gloss to the beginning of ch. 4 where we read (vv. 1-3):

And when I saw time and again the oppressions which are done under the sun, and behold! the tears of the oppressed with no one to comfort them; in the hands of their oppressors power with no one to right them. Then I praised the dead which were dead long ago more than the living that are living yet. And better than both of them is he who does not yet exist, who has not seen the evil work that is done under the sun.

These are very pessimistic statements, and the glossator who wrote vv. 7 and 8 of ch. 5 tried to show that the statements of Ecclesiastes are very much exaggerated. There is not so much oppression as he claims, because if an official commits an injustice he is checked by a superior official, and the latter is called to account by a still higher magistrate, and so on up to the king who is at the head of the complicated system of government. Here a theologian added a tertiary gloss וַיְבָרִים עֲלֵיהֶם and the

¹ Read הָאֵמֹר for הָאֵת-שׁוֹנֵא; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch³⁷, p. 349, n. 2.

Most High (i. e., God) is above them, i. e., the Most High is above the king and all his subordinate officials. The two verses may be rendered as follows:

If you see the oppression of a poor man and the deprivation of justice and equity in a province, do not be alarmed at the matter, for there is a higher one watching over the high one [*and the Most High is over them*]. And after all (בכל) it is an advantage to a land to have a king, (especially) in a cultivated region (i. e., in a civilized community).

The meaning of the last verse is: in spite of several undeniable drawbacks it is an advantage to a civilized community to have a king.

The word גְבוּרִים has given a great deal of difficulty with regard to its rendering and precise allusion. The LXX translates v. 7b by ὑψηλὸς ἐπάνω ὑψηλοῦ φυλάσσει, καὶ ὑψηλοὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς superior watches over superior, and superiors (גְבוּרִים) again over them. The rendering of the Vulgate is *excelso excelsior est alius, et super hos quoque eminentiores sunt alii*. So also the Syriac Version, Rashbam, Luther, Herzfeld, Ginsburg, Wright, Wildeboer, etc. Gill and Holden think that the pl. גְבוּרִים designates the Trinity. The latter paraphrases גְבוּרִים עֲלֵיהֶם thus: *there are the High Ones of the Holy Trinity above the princes of the earth and the hierarchy of heaven*. Ibn Ezra refers גְבוּרִים to angels. Rosenmüller, Knobel, Ewald, Elster, Zöckler, etc., interpret גְבוּרִים as a plural of majesty, and refer it to God. This seems to be the correct explanation, and it has therefore been adopted in the present discussion. The Targum incorrectly takes the first גְבוּרִים to mean God. Knobel's assertion that the Targum refers גְבוּרִים to God is incorrect.¹

A number of participles from לָחַץ stems having the plural form, and employed as attributes of God, are generally regarded as doubtful cases of 'plurals of majesty,' inasmuch as they may also be explained as singulars.² These are עֹשֶׂה my Maker, Job 35, 10; עֹשֶׂה thy Maker, Is. 54, 5; עֹשֶׂה his Maker, Ps. 149, 2;

¹ The text and translation of the Chaldee paraphrase of v. 7b is as follows: אֲרָם אֵל אֲדִיר עַל שְׁמֵי מְרוֹמָא נְטִיר עֹבְדָא בְּרִי אֲנָשָׁא בֵּין טַב לְבִישָׁתָא וּמִן קַדְמוֹי מְשַׁלְחִין נְיָבְרִין גְּבוּרִין וְתַקְיָסִין לְמַרְדֵּי בְּרִשְׁיָעִיא וּלְמַהְוִיָּהוּן מִתְמַנֵּן רַבְּנִין עֲלֵיהֶוּן For the mighty God from on high watches the deeds of men whether good or evil, and from his presence are sent forth proud and strong men to rule over the wicked, and are appointed masters over them.

² Comp. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, p. 405k.

עֲשֵׂיהָ *her Maker*, Is. 22, 11; נוֹטִיעֵהֶם *He who stretches them out*, Is. 42, 5; מוֹרֵךְ *thy teacher*, Jer. 30, 20.

To these doubtful *intensive plurals* we may add בַּעֲלֶיךָ *thy husband*, Is. 54, 5, which, being used in parallelism with עֲשֵׂיהָ, may be explained as formed on analogy; מְרִימֵי *him who lifteth it up*, Is. 10, 15, is interpreted by Delitzsch and others as a 'plural of majesty,' but it may also be explained as a plural denoting an indefinite individual;¹ cf. שִׁלְחֵי Prov. 10, 26. For בּוֹרְאֵךְ Ecc. 12, 1, which is usually explained as a 'plural of majesty,' meaning the Creator, we should read, with Graetz,² בּוֹרֶךְ or בְּאֵרֶךְ 'thy cistern,' which he interprets as a metaphorical expression for the wife of youth. In support of his explanation he brings the following parallel from Prov. 5, 15:

שָׁתֵּה מַיִם מִבּוֹרֶךְ וְנוֹזְלִים מִתְּרוֹךְ בְּאֵרֶךְ

Drink water from thy own cistern,
running water from thy own well,

and this is explained by a gloss (v. 18) to mean:

יָדֶיךָ מִקְדֹּרְךָ בְּרוּךְ וְשִׂמְחָה מֵאִשְׁתְּךָ נַעֲרֶיךָ

Let thy fountain be blessed,
and get joy from the wife of thy youth.

Compare Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 47, n. 36.

Terms denoting appurtenances of God are very commonly employed in the plural with a singular signification. This is especially the case with terms designating the abode of God, *e. g.* in Ps. 68, 36 the pl. מִקְדָּשִׁים 'sanctuaries' is used in the sense of The Great Holy Sanctuary, *i. e.*, the Temple. In this passage we must read with the LXX בְּמִקְדָּשָׁיו for בְּמִקְדָּשֵׁי.

נֹרָא אֱלֹהִים בְּמִקְדָּשָׁיו אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא
נֹתֵן כֹּחַ וְחֵצְצוֹת לְעַם בְּרוּךְ אֱלֹהִים :

Thou art terrible, O God in *Thy great holy sanctuary*,
thou art the God of Israel;

He that giveth strength and power to (His) people,
blessed be God.

¹ Comp. Gesenius-Kautsch³⁷, p. 405, rem. 3.

² Comp. Wright, *Ecclesiastes in Relation to Modern Criticism and Pessimism* (London, 1888) p. 238; C. D. Ginsburg, *Kohleth* (London, 1861) pp. 456-475; Delitzsch, *Hoheslied und Kohleth* (Leipzig, 1875) p. 387, and others.

³ *Kohleth* (Leipzig, 1871) p. 133.

For the pl. **תַּעֲצוּמוֹת** compare below. For other examples of the pl. **מִקְדָּשִׁים** used in a singular sense compare Jer. 51, 51; Ps. 74, 17. For the plurals **עֲלִיּוֹת** and **מַעֲלֹת** employed as designations of the heavenly abode of God, see above, p. 201. Compare also **מִשְׁפָּנִים** Ps. 46, 5, **מִשְׁכָּנֹת** Ps. 132, 5, and **נְאוֹת** Ps. 83, 13; these are *intensive plurals*, denoting 'majesty.'

In several passages the chariot of God is denoted by the pl. **מִרְכָּבוֹת** 'chariots,' i. e., The Great Chariot.

Is. 66, 15.

פִּיהֶקְדִּי בָאֵשׁ יִבֹּא 'וּבְסוּפָה מִרְכָּבוֹתָיו
לְהִשָּׁב בַּחֲמָה אָפוּ וּגְעֻתוֹ בְּלֹהֲבֵי אֵשׁ :

יִהְיֶה .

For behold he will come in fire,
and in the whirlwind as His *chariot*;
To pay back in burning anger His wrath,
and His rebuke in flames of fire.

Compare also Hab. 3, 8. In 2 Ki. 23, 11 the pl. **מִרְכָּבוֹת** designates the 'portable throne of the Sun-god'; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 295, l. 3. In Cant. 6, 12 Haupt translates **מִרְכָּבוֹת** by the *magnificent conveyance*; see his remarks ad Cant. 1, 9 (AJSL. 19, 15 = p. 68 of the reprint). Very frequently terms denoting inner states or qualities of God are employed in the plural, e. g.: **דַּעֲיִם** Job 36, 4; 37, 16, or **דַּעֲיָה** 1 Sam. 2, 3, lit. 'knowledges,' i. e., *profound knowledge* or *divine knowledge*,¹ similarly the wrath of God is in Job 21, 30; 40, 11; Ps. 7, 7 **עֲבֵרוֹת** 'wraths,' i. e., *most violent wrath*; His *terror* is in Ps. 88, 16; Job 20, 25 **אֵימִים** 'terrors,' i. e., *great terror*, or *divine terror*; a *divine vision* is denoted by the pl. **מִרְאוֹת** (Gen. 46, 2; Ezek. 1, 1; 8, 3; 40, 2); His *strength* is **גְּבוּרוֹת** (Is. 63, 15), **תַּעֲצוּמוֹת** (Ps. 68, 36), or **אוֹנִים** (Is. 40, 26); His *deliverance* is **יִשְׁעוֹת** (Is. 26, 18; 33, 6, etc.) or **מוֹשָׁעוֹת** (Ps. 68, 21); His *vengeance* is **נִקְמוֹת** (Judg. 11, 36; 2 Sam. 4, 8).

The *intensive plural* **אלהים** is not only employed in reference to the God of Israel, but frequently also when heathen deities are spoken of, e. g., 1 Ki. 11, 33 **לְעִשְׂתוֹתָם אֱלֹהֵי צִדְנִין לְכַבּוֹשׁ אֱלֹהֵי**

¹ It is preferable to read **וּבְסוּפָה** for **מִרְכָּבוֹתָיו** and **וּבְסוּפָה** is in apposition to **בְּסוּפָה**; cf. Ps. 104, 2 and Dillmann, *Ethiop. Chrest.*, p. 15, l. 2 of the poem. It is not necessary, however, to read with the LXX, Cheyne, and others, **בָּאֵשׁ** for **בָּאֵשׁ**; for **בָּאֵשׁ** = **בָּאֵשׁ** see Haupt, *Canticles*, p. 35, ad 3, 6.

² See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 19, ad 2, 3.

מִצָּבָה וְלִמְלָכָם אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי עַמּוֹן to *Astoreth the divinity of the Sidonians, to Chemos, the god of Moab, and to Milcom, the god of the children of Ammon.*

While the pl. עֲשֹׁתָרוֹת usually designates either the many images of Astarte, or the various goddesses of that name which were worshiped in different localities (cf. Judg. 10, 16; 1 Sam. 7, 4; 12, 10), there are two passages in which it appears to be employed as *pluralis intensivus*, equal to The Great Astarte, unless the Masoretic reading is incorrect. The reading is, however, supported by all the Ancient Versions.¹ Judg. 2, 13 וַיַּעֲזֹבוּ וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ אֱתֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ בָּאֵל וְעֲשֹׁתָרוֹת And they forsook JHVH and worshiped Ba'al and the Great Astarte. Professor Moore² is inclined, however, to adopt the reading of the singular. The second passage is 1 Sam. 31, 10a וַיִּשְׂמְנוּ אֶת־כְּלָיוֹ בֵּית עֲשֹׁתָרוֹת And they put his armor in the house of the Great Astarte.

According to Keil³ בֵּית עֲשֹׁתָרוֹת is here the plural of בֵּית עֲשֹׁתָרָה on the analogy of בֵּית אֱבֹרָה. This explanation is impossible inasmuch as only one temple can be referred to in this passage. Driver⁴ believes that the plural is here incorrectly used for the singular owing to the employment of the plural in other connections.

The plural תַּרְפִּים 'images,' 'household gods' is used in 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16 (and probably also in other passages; cf. Gen. 31, 34, 35, etc.) in a singular sense.⁵ The plural is of exactly the same nature as that in אֱלֹהִים.

Jer. 46, 14–19 is a prophecy of the successful invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. The black bull Apis, to whom divine honors were paid in Memphis, is represented as having escaped from the city out of fear (v. 15), just as the idols of Egypt are said (Is. 19, 1) to have quaked at the approach of JHVH. Apis is in the passage ironically referred to by the pl. אַבְיִירִים 'bulls,' i. e., The Mighty Bull. Giesbrecht, Duhm, and others adopt the reading of the singular, but this is quite unnecessary inasmuch

¹ Comp. Böttcher, *Lehrbuch der hebr. Spr.* (1866) Vol. I, p. 494.

² *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (in The International Critical Commentary series), New York, 1900, p. 70.

³ *Die Bücher Samuels*² (1875), ad 31, 10.

⁴ *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 178, note ad 31, 10.

⁵ See Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, p. 404a; Nöldeke's review of Baethgen's *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte* in ZDMG (1888) 42, pp. 476 ff.; on תַּרְפִּים in general, see Moore, *Judges*, note ad 17, 5.

as the plural may be best explained as *intensive*, of the same rank as the plurals אלהים, תרפים, עשתרות, Assy. ilāni, Ethiop. 'amlak, and Phoen. אלם. It is, therefore, construed with the sing. verb עמד, and referred to by the sing. suffix in יהפֹּרֶו (v. 15). For נִסְחָהּ (in the same verse) it is best to read with the LXX (which has ἐφυγεν ὁ Ἄπις) הָהָה, ¹נִסְחָהּ being equivalent to Egyptian Hapi 'Apis.' The pl. אֲבִירִים in the second hemistich is therefore parallel to הָהָה in the first hemistich, and the suffix in אֲבִירֵיהָ refers to Memphis. It will be sufficient for our purpose to quote only the first two couplets² (vv. 14-16). In v. 14 וְהַשְׁמִיעַ and וּבַתְּחַפְּתָם are later scribal additions, and they are omitted by the LXX. Thus also סַבִּיבָךְ at the end of the verse, כִּי יְהוָה וְהָדַר at the end of the next verse, and גַּם־נֶפֶל in v. 16 are to be regarded as glosses, inasmuch as they disturb the metre. For הָרֶבֶה פֶּשֶׁל read with the LXX³ and Schwally⁴ הָרֶבֶה פֶּשֶׁל. The Hebrew text of the first two couplets should be arranged as follows:

וְהַשְׁמִיעַ בְּנֶהֱ וְהָהָה לָהּ:	וְהָהָה בְּמִגְדוֹל 46, 14 אֲמִרְךָ הִתְעַצֵּב
אֲבִירֵיהָ לֹא־עָמַד מִפְּנֵי־הָרֶב הָיִוָּה: 16c	מִדְּעֵנֶם הָהָה 15 וְהָרֶבֶה פֶּשֶׁל 16a
46, 14 Tell it in Migdol Say: take a stand	proclaim it in Memphis; and prepare thyself.
15 Wherefore has Apis fled	thy mighty bull held not his ground;
16a Most of thy men have stum- bled,	16c before the oppressing sword.

Plurals like תרפים and אבירים are שְׂקִיצִים Dan. 9, 27 = The Great Abomination, and צִלְמִים Am. 5, 26 = The Great Idol. The pl. שְׂקִיצִים is joined to a singular adjectival attribute (מְשֻׁמֵּם 'desolating'). It probably refers to a heathen idol. Bevan (*The*

¹ See Duhm and Marti *ad locum*.

² The whole prophecy (vv. 14-19) consists of five couplets of double hemistichs, each hemistich having two beats.

³ The LXX has καὶ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐσθλῶσι.

⁴ *Die Reden des Buches Jeremia gegen die Heiden*, XXV, XLVI-LI, in ZATW, 1888, p. 193.

Book of Daniel, p. 160) reads *שְׁקוּצִים מְשֻׁמִּים* *there shall be abominations set up*. It is preferable, however, to explain the plural as intensive. The passage in which *צִלְמִים* is *pluralis intensivus* is rather obscure. It should probably be translated as follows: "And ye shall carry Sikkut your king, and Kaiwan *your great idol* (your solar deity) which you have made."¹

With *צִלְמִים* cf. Ethiop. *amsal*.

D. Plural Expressions Denoting Royal Personages and Appurtenances of Royalty; also Plurals Denoting Lordship in General.

Terms in which the idea of royalty is inherent are frequently employed in the plural with a singular sense. The plural in such cases simply intensifies the idea of royalty inherent in the noun.

It is interesting to note that the Persian king, who is generally called in Greek *ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς*, is designated in a number of passages in the OT by the pl. *מְלָכִים* 'kings,' i. e., The Great King,² and the Persian Empire by the pl. *מַמְלָכוֹת* 'kingdoms,' i. e., The Great Kingdom. In a letter addressed by the Persian officials to Artaxerxes I. Longimanus, king of Persia (464–424 B. C.), preserved in *Ezra* 4, 11b–16, we read:

4, 12 יָדִיעַ לַהֲרֹא לְמִלְכָּא דִּי יְהוּדִיָּא דִּי סִלְקוּ מִן לִוְחָה עֲלֵינוּ
אַחַר לִירוּשָׁלַם קְרִיתָא מְרֻדָּתָא וּבִאֲשֻׁתָא בְנֵן 'וְשֹׁרִיָּה' יִשְׁכַּלְלֹן
'וְאַשְׁיָה יְחִיסָד': 13 פֶּסֶן יָדִיעַ לַהֲרֹא לְמִלְכָּא דִּי הֵן קְרִיתָא דָּה
הַתְּבִנָּא 'וְשֹׁרִיָּה' יִשְׁתַּלְּלֹן מִנְדָּא בְּלוֹ וְהִלָּה לָא יִתְנַחֵן וְאַפְסָח
'מִלְכִּים תְּהִינֶק':

Let it be known to the king that the Jews who went up from thee unto us are come unto Jerusalem, rebuilding the rebellious and bad city; her walls they are completing, and her foundations they are removing.³ Be it known now to the king that if this city be rebuilt and her walls be completed, tax tribute and toll they will not give, and finally it (the city) will do harm to the Great King (*מִלְכִּים*).

¹ The words *סְכָרִית* and *קִיָּין* have been variously understood. The Ancient Versions render *סְכָרִית* *tabernacle*. According to Schrader (*KAT*³, 442) *סְכָרִית* is to be pointed *סְכָרִית*, *קִיָּין*, *קִיָּין*. He identifies them with two Babylonian-Assyrian deities, the first with Sakkut, and the latter with Kaiwān. His identification is almost certain, as these names appear together in a Babylonian religious text [IV R. 52, col. 4, l. 9; cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Bab. Rel.*, 1896, p. 10, l. 179], where they are invoked together. Contrast *KAT*³, p. 476.

² Comp. Ethiop. 'amlāk; see Assy. pl. *sarrāni*, used in the sense of The Great King.

³ Read (with LXX) *וְשֹׁרִיָּה* and *וְאַשְׁיָה* for *וְשֹׁרִיָּה* and *וְאַשְׁיָה*.

⁴ Read, with Guthe, *יִשְׁכַּלְלֹן* for *יִשְׁכַּלְלֹן*.

⁵ *מִלְכִּים* instead of Aramaic *מִלְכִּין* is a Hebraism.

⁶ For this rendering of *יְחִיסָד* cf. *Crit. Notes on Ezra-Nehemiah* (SBOT) p. 62, l. 35.

The context shows that the pl. מְלָכִים (v. 13) means The Great King (ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς). This is especially evident from the following verse (v. 14): "Now because we eat the salt of the palace, and it is not proper for us to see the dishonor of the king, we send and make known unto the king." Moreover, if we consider מְלָכִים a numerical plural, it would not suit the context. The Persian officials wished to inform the king of Persia that if he should permit the Jews to rebuild the rebellious city and its walls, there would be immediate danger of their rebelling against him, and not that it would do harm to kings in general. Taken in connection with the other passages in which the plural is employed to designate the Persian king there remains very little doubt that our explanation is correct. In v. 15, however, the pl. מַלְכִּין is numerical; but, again, in v. 22 it may be *intensive*.

According to Haupt¹ the plural מְלָכִים Ps. 110, 5 is *intensive*, equal to The Great King (of Persia). He refers the psalm to Zerubbabel,² a prince of the Davidic family who was governor of Judea during the reign of Hystaspes (521–485 B. C.). The presence of a scion of the house of David in Judea stimulated projects for the restoration of the Davidic dynasty. The two prophets of that time, Haggai and Zechariah, prophesied a grand future. The great Persian Empire would be annihilated, and Zerubbabel would restore the political independence of the Jews, and become their Messianic King. We read (Zech. 6, 9) that the prophet Zechariah is commanded to make a magnificent crown and set it upon the head of Zerubbabel.³ He was to be at the same time king and priest at the right hand of JHVH. It was in this age that Ps. 110, referring to Zerubbabel, was written. To show the *intensive use* of the plural מְלָכִים when employed as a designation of the king of Persia vv. 5. 6 may be cited, as restored by Haupt in connection with his interpretation of Messianic Psalms in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, during the session 1902–3.

¹ Comp. Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 114 (July, 1904), p. 110.

² On Zerubbabel see Notes on Isaiah (Eng. transl.), p. 199, l. 17 ff.; Crit. Notes on Ezra-Nehemiah (SBOT), l. 9, v. 24. E. Sellin in his *Serubbabel* (1898) advanced the view that all 'Ebed-JHVH' songs refer to Zerubbabel. He has since retracted this theory in his *Studien zur Entstehungsgesch. der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem bab. Exil* (1901), Vol. II, pp. 163–199. Cf. also Haupt, Is. 40, in Drugulin's *Marksteine*.

³ In the received text the name of Zerubbabel is omitted, and the name of Joshua ben Jehozedek is mentioned; there is reason to believe, however, that in the original text there was only the name of Zerubbabel. See discussion on this passage, below, pp. 225.

אֲדָנִי יְדִין בְּנִיִּים מַחֲזֵן מְלָכִים :
 מַחֲזֵן-רֹאשׁ עַל-אֶרֶץ רַבָּה מִלֵּא נְיֻחֹת :

My lord (Zerubbabel) will punish the heathen,
 and will shatter the Great King (of Persia)
 He will shatter the head over a wide land,
 he will fill it with dead corpses.

Duhm (*Die Psalmen*, p. 254) and others refer the psalm to Simon, the Maccabee. This view, as well as the theory that it refers to the Maccabean conqueror, John Hyrcanus (135–105 B. C.), son of Simon, is untenable, as already pointed out by Haupt. It is held by some that the psalm is an acrostic of the name of Simon.¹ The objection against this view is that שִׁב (v. 1), the first letter of which is supposed to furnish the first consonant of שִׁמְעֹן begins the second hemistich, and not the first. Moreover, we should expect the whole poem to be acrostic.²

With regard to meter the psalm must be divided into two stanzas, each stanza consisting of five *mëshālīm* or poetic lines. Each *mëshāl* has two hemistichs, three beats in the first, and two in the second.

In Ps. 45 (in which, according to Haupt, is celebrated the wedding of King Alexander Balas of Syria with Cleopatra, the daughter of King Ptolomy VI., Philometer of Egypt, which took place at Ptolomais, in 150 B. C.) v. 10 בְּנֻחַת מְלָכִים and בִּיקְרוֹתֶיהָ are explained by Haupt as *intensive plurals*.

בְּנֻחַת מְלָכִים בִּיקְרוֹתֶיהָ נִצְבָּה שָׁגֵל לִימִינָה :

But *thy brightest jewel is the noble daughter* (i. e., Cleopatra) of *the great king* (i. e., Ptolomy VI.),
 Who is to stand as consort at thy right hand.

In the same way Haupt explains the pl. בְּתָלוֹת (v. 15) as *intensive*, equal to The Noble Virgin. לִרְקֻמוֹת which is at the beginning of v. 15 he inserts before מִמִּשְׁבְּצוֹת v. 14. For אֶחָד מִבְּיָאוֹת v. 15 he reads מִבְּיָאוֹת לָהּ. פְּנִימָה and כָּל-כְּבוֹדָה v. 14, and אַחֲרֶיהָ v. 15 he regards as glosses. לְבִישָׁה v. 14 he inserts after בַּת-מֶלֶךְ (*ibid.*). The Hebrew text of vv. 14. 15 as restored by Haupt reads, therefore, as follows:

¹ Discovered by Bickell, and accepted by Duhm (*Die Psalmen*, p. 255).

² König, *Eint.*, p. 404, Anm.

³ Cf. Haupt, *Book of Canticles*, p. 22, note 1 = *AJSL* 18, 212, and his article on "The Poetic Form of the First Psalm" in *AJSL* (April, 1903), p. 135.

בַּת־מֶלֶךְ לְבוּשָׁה לְרֻקְמָן מִמִּשְׁבְּצוֹת זָהָב :
הוּבַל לַמֶּלֶךְ בַּחֲלוֹת רֵעוּתָהּ מִבִּיאוֹת לָהּ :

The king's daughter clad in brocade
embroidered with gold.

The *noble virgin* is brought to the king,
her companions conduct her.¹

We shall now discuss the several plurals employed to designate the Persian Empire.

Haggai, announcing the approaching overthrow of the Persian Empire, says:

2, 22.²

וְהִפַּכְתִּי כִסֵּא מַמְלָכוֹת וְהִפַּכְתִּי מַרְכָּבָה וְרוֹכְבֶיהָ
אִישׁ־בְּחֶרֶב אֶחָיו יִפְּלוּ : אֲנִי־מֵרֵעִשׁ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ :

And I will shake the heavens and the earth,
and I will overthrow the throne of *the Great Kingdom*;
And I will overthrow the chariots and those that ride in them,
every one by the sword of his brother shall fall.

The pl. מַמְלָכוֹת in this passage is *intensive*, being equivalent to The Great Empire (of Persia). It was thus understood also by Rashi who in his note on מַמְלָכוֹת remarked: מַלְכוּת פָּרַס שְׂהִיא מוֹשֶׁלֶת *it refers to the Persian Empire which was then ruling the whole world.*

In several passages in the Book of Daniel מֶלֶךְ 'king' is employed in the sense of מַמְלָכָה 'kingdom,' e. g., the Four Empires are called (7, 17) אַרְבַּעַה מַלְכִין *the four kings*. In two passages (8, 20; 10, 13) the pl. מַלְכִים is *intensive*, equal to מַמְלָכוֹת Hag. 2, 22, i. e., The Great Empire (of Persia).

DAN. 8, 20.

הָאֵיל אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתָ בַּעַל הַקֶּרְנַיִם מִלְכֵי מִדִּי וּפָרַס :

The ram which thou hast seen with two horns is the Great Empire of Media and Persia.

¹ For a discussion on the text and meter of the whole psalm cf. his article on "The Poetic Form of the First Psalm" in *AJSL* (April, 1903) p. 135.

² The last clause of 2, 21 belongs to the following verse. The clause וְהִפַּכְתִּי אֶת־הַקִּרְיָהּ may be an illustrative quotation based on Ez. 15. 5. At the end of the clause וְהִפַּכְתִּי אֶת־הַקִּרְיָהּ we must supply וְהִפַּכְתִּי אֶת־הַקִּרְיָהּ. Gratz's conjecture וְהִפַּכְתִּי אֶת־הַקִּרְיָהּ for וְהִפַּכְתִּי אֶת־הַקִּרְיָהּ is not good. Cf. Haupt's paper *Erläuternde Citate in Allen Testament* in the Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg, Sept. 1902.

That the author conceived the Medo-Persian Empire as a unity is evident from the fact that he employs one symbol to represent it, the original separateness of Media and Persia being indicated by the two horns. The pl. מלכי must therefore be explained as *intensive*, equal to The Great Empire, and cannot be numerical, as all exegetes understand it. Our interpretation is further supported by the LXX which renders מלכי מדי ופרס by βασιλεὺς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, i. e., מלך מדי ופרס.

In Dan. 10, 13 (at the end of the verse) we must insert שר before מלכי, on the basis of the LXX.¹ שר מלכי פרס is here equal to שר מלכות פרס at the beginning of the verse. It is quite unnecessary to read (with the LXX, Theodotion, Marti) הוֹתִירָתִי for הוֹתִירָתִי. The verse may be rendered as follows:

But the prince of the kingdom of Persia (i. e., the guardian angel of the Persian Empire) stood up against me for twenty-one days, but, lo! Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me while I had been left alone there contending with the prince of the Empire of Persia.

Bevan² interprets the phrase מלכי פרס to be 'an intentionally vague phrase for the "Persian Dynasty."' This interpretation is rather vague, and it is preferable to consider מלכי a *pluralis intensivus* = The Great Kingdom.

In Prov. 16, 12, 13 מלכים means the Great King, i. e., the Ideal King.³

PROV. 16, 12-13.

תועבת מלכים עשות רשע כִּי־בִצְדָקָה יָפוֹן כִּסֵּא;
רִצּוֹן מַלְכִּים שִׁפְתֵי־צֶדֶק וְדִבַּר יֹשֵׁרִים יֵאָהֵב;

It is abomination to the Great King to commit wickedness,
for the throne is established by righteousness.
A delight of the Great King are righteous lips,
and him who speaks right he loveth.

Müller and Kautzch (in SBOT) read the sing. מלך in v. 13 on the authority of the LXX which has the singular even in

¹ The LXX renders the last clause of the verse by μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν, i. e., אֶצֶל שַׂר מְלָךְ פָּרֶס. The reading of the LXX is preferred by Behrman, Berthold, and Marti.

² *The Book of Daniel* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 168.

³ Comp. Haupt's remark in Crit. Notes on Prov. (SBOT) p. 49, l. 3.

v. 12. The reading of the LXX, however, only supports our view that the pl. מלכים is *intensive*. Toy¹ reads (v. 13) יִאֲדָבֶהּ for יִאֲדָבֶהּ for יִאֲדָבֶהּ.

We shall now discuss several (royal) *intensive plurals* employed in the Ode of Triumph on the last Babylonian Monarch (Nabonidus), contained in Isa. 14, 4b-21.

Isa. 14, 4b-21 is generally interpreted to be an ode of triumph on the downfall of the last Babylonian King Nabonidus (555-539 B. C.).² It was thus also understood by the editor who prefixed vv. 1-4a, and added vv. 22 ff. The ode cannot be the genuine work of Isaiah as it presupposes a situation entirely different from that of the time of the prophet.³ It must have been composed by a poet who lived towards the close of the exile.⁴ Though he employs the perfect tense the ode is really a prophecy. It may be divided into five stanzas, each containing seven double-hemistichs, the first hemistich having three beats, and the second two.⁵

In v. 5 it is not necessary to read, with Guthe, the sing. מִשְׁלֵם for מִשְׁלֵם, as both מִשְׁלֵם and מִשְׁלֵם may be explained as *intensive plurals*. These plurals, if regarded as numerical, are quite unintelligible here, inasmuch as the context shows that the poet is speaking of one special king, i. e., Nabonidus. To show the *intensive use* of the plurals מִשְׁלֵם and מִשְׁלֵם it will be necessary to give here the Hebrew text and translation of the first stanza of the ode. For מִדְּהָבָה (v. 4) read with the LXX מִדְּהָבָה;⁶ for שָׁבַר we should probably read הָשָׁבַר, הָ, omitted on account of the preceding ה (haplography), or שָׁבַר, and cancel יִהְיֶה; for הָשָׁבַר it is better to read the inf. הָשָׁבַר.

¹ Proverbs, p. 328, note on v. 13.

² Cf. Driver, *Introduction*, p. 212; Marti, *Das Buch Jesaya*, p. 128; Duhm, etc., Strachey (*Hebrew Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib*, pp. 148 ff.), and Cobb (*JBL*, 1896, p. 31) think that מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל v. 4 is employed as a title of the king of Assyria. Cobb (*JBL*, 1896, p. 28) refers the ode to Sennacherib; Winckler originally interpreted it of Sennacherib (*Altor. Forsch.*, 193 ff.), but explains it now of the murder of Sargon (*ibid.*, 414).

³ Comp. Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (1895), p. 67; Driver, *Introduction*, p. 212.

⁴ Driver, *ibid.*

⁵ Comp. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 278; for Eduard Siever's metrical arrangement of the whole poem, cf. his *Metrische Studien* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 438. His metrical arrangement is not very good. He neither divides the poem into sections, nor does he eliminate from it later scribal additions. He makes several serious mistakes in vocalisation and accentuation of a number of words, e. g., he reads (v. 9) בִּזְאֵן for בִּזְאֵן, בִּזְאֵן for בִּזְאֵן, etc. Comp. also Marti, Duhm, and Cheyne.

⁶ So nearly all exegetes since J. D. Michaelis.

Omit also מִפֶּת and מִרְדֶּה v. 6. For the sake of the meter we must transpose the words of 8b so as to read לֹא־יִעֲלֶה הַכֶּרֶת¹ : מֵאֵז שִׁכְבַּת : עָלֵינוּ | מֵאֵז שִׁכְבַּת : The first section of the poem should be arranged as follows:

שבתה מרדבה :	איך שבת נגש	14, 4b
שבט משלים :	השבר מטה רשעים	5
בלחי סרה	מכה עמים בעברה	6
בלי חשד :	רדה באה גוים	
פצחו רפה :	מחה שקטה כל-הארץ	7
ארץ לבנון	גם-ברוקים שמחו לך	8
מאז שכבת :	לא-יעלה הכרת עלינו	

How still has the despot become,
how still the raging!
JHVH hath broken the staff of the Great Wicked One,
the rod of the Great Tyrant,
Who smote peoples in passion,
with no cessation,
Who trampled the nations in anger,
with no restraint!
Still and at rest is the whole earth,
into joyful cry they break out,
Also the cypress-trees rejoice at thy fate,
and the cedars of Lebanon:
There cometh up no woodman against us,
since thou art laid low.

מִפֶּת and רִדָּה may both be referred to מִטָּה (cf. Ps. 2, 19; 110, 2);¹ it is better, however, to refer them to רָשָׁעִים and מְשָׁלִים. Cf. אֲדִינִים קָשָׁה Is. 19, 4.

Similarly we must explain the pl. מִרְדֶּים (v. 20) as meaning The Great Evil Doer, and אֲבוֹתָם (v. 21) as meaning Their Great Father. In both cases our interpretation is supported by the LXX, which renders them as singulars. Marti and Cheyne read the singular, but this is unnecessary. In v. 20 עֲמָה הִרְגָה is a later scribal expansion, as is shown by the meter. For ומלאו² פני תבל ערים we should probably read ומלאוהָ ערים.

¹ Comp. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 280, l. 37.

² So Marti, Duhm, Cheyne, etc.

14, 20 לא־תחד אתם בקבורה כ־ארצך שחת
 לא יקרא לעולם זרע מרקים :
 21 הדינו לבניו מטבח בעון אבותם
 בל־יקמו וירשו ארץ ומלאוה ערים :

Thou mayest not be joined with them in burial,
 for thy land thou hast destroyed;
 Never may be named
 the seed of the Great Evil Doer !
 Prepare shambles for his sons
 for the sin of their Great Father,
 That they may not rise up and take possession of the earth,
 and fill it with ruins.

In Is. 3, 12 נָשִׁים is *pluralis intensivus* for נָשׁ 'ruler.'

עמי נגשיו מעילל ונשים משלו בו
 עמי מאשריך מתעים ודרך ארחיך בלעי :

My people—a child is their ruler,
 and women rule over him;
 My people—thy guides lead thee astray,
 and thy paths they have corrupted.

Cf. נגשיו Is. 60, 17.

Ezek. 19, 1 נְשִׂאִים is *pluralis intensivus* for נְשִׂא :

וְאָתָה שָׂא קִינָה אֶל־נְשִׂאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל :

And do thou lift up a lamentation on the Great Prince of Israel.

This verse is a superscription of a lamentation (vv. 2–9) addressed to Zedekiah, and the pl. נְשִׂאֵי can refer only to this prince. Ewald and Cornill adopt the reading of the singular on the basis of the LXX; but this is unnecessary.

The pl. מִשּׁוֹת 'branches' Ezek. 19, 11 is *intensive*, meaning The Noblest Branch, i. e., the Davidic family, and the pl. שִׁבְטֵי 'sceptres' is equivalent to The Great Sceptre.

Ezek. 19, 10–14 is a lamentation on Judah and her unfortunate king Zedekiah. Judah is likened unto a fruitful vine, planted by waters. Its *noblest branch* (מִשּׁוֹת) became a *great royal sceptre* (שִׁבְטֵי מְשֻׁלִּים). It towered high above the other branches, but

¹ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, p. 405, k.

² See Crit. Notes on Ezekiel (SBOT) p. 70, l. 48.

in wrath the vine was plucked up, its mighty branch was broken off, and it withered. The vine was then planted in a desert land (*i. e.*, in exile). A fire went forth from the branch (*i. e.*, from Zedekiah who was a member of the Davidic family), and consumed all its boughs.

That the pl. מטרות is *intensive* is shown by the fact that it is referred to in the same verse by singular suffixes (קומחו, בגבהו, דליותיו). Modern critics (Cornill, Bertholet, etc.) are inclined to adopt the reading of the singular.

After making the proper textual emendations and eliminating the glosses, the poem divides itself into five couplets of double-hemistichs, with two beats in each hemistich. In v. 12b we must read החפרקו ויבשו for החפרק ויבש, inasmuch as the subject of these two verbs is the sing. מטה; the final ו of החפרקו may be explained as dittography of the initial ו of ויבש.¹ בדמך 'in thy blood' (v. 10) is unintelligible, and overburdens the first hemistich; it must, therefore, be omitted.² עץ (v. 11) has crept in from v. 14, and והגבה קומחו על-בן עתים (*ibid.*) is a gloss to וירא בגבהו ברב דליותיו. In v. 12 אש אכלהו is a variant to the first clause of v. 14. In v. 13 במבדר and either צידה or צמא are glosses.³ In v. 14 פריה is evidently dittography of בריה,⁴ and שבט למשול is a gloss to מטה עץ; also ממטה (*ibid.*) is to be regarded as a gloss. The last clause of v. 12 should be preceded by v. 13. The Hebrew text should be arranged as follows:

על-מים שתולה	אמך כנפך	19,10
ממים רבים :	פריה וענפה	
<hr/>		
אל-שבטי משלים	וידה-לה מטות	11
ברב דליותיו :	וירא בגבהו	
<hr/>		
לארץ השלקה	ותתש בחמה	12a
הוביש פריה	וירח הקדים	

¹ So Cornill, *Prophet Ezekiel*, p. 291.

² So Cornill; on the authority of the LXX (ἀστος ἐν ποτὶ) Aug. Calmel and Gesenius read בָּרָמָה. Toy reads simply בכרם. Cornill rightly strikes out this word.

³ The LXX translates only one of these two words.

⁴ So Cornill.

בְּאֶרֶץ צִמָּא	וַתֵּהָה שְׂחֹלָה	13
מִסָּה עֵדָה :	הַחֲפֹק וַיִּבֶשׁ	12b
<hr/>		
בְּיָדָהּ אֶכְלָה	וַתֵּצֵא אֵשׁ	14
מִסָּה עֵד :	וְלֹא הִיָּדְבָהּ	

This may be translated into English as follows:

19, 10	Thy mother was like a vine Fruitful and full of branches	by waters planted, from plentiful waters.
<hr/>		
11	Her noblest branch Lofty it towered	became a <i>great royal sceptre</i> ; with the mass of its boughs.
<hr/>		
12a	But in wrath it was plucked up And the east wind	to the ground cast down, withered its fruits.
<hr/>		
13	Now it is planted	in a thirsty land
12b	Broken and withered	is its mighty branch.
<hr/>		
14	A fire has gone forth And she has no more	its boughs it consumed; a mighty branch.

One of the examples of the *pluralis intensivus* is עֲטָרוֹת Zech. 6, 10, 14 which means *a most magnificent crown*. It has always been a matter of dispute as to whether one or two crowns are spoken of in the passage (Zech. 6, 9–13). The view of Wellhausen¹ is not conclusive. He believes that the singular verb תִּהְיֶה v. 14 proves beyond any doubt that only one crown was intended, and he, accordingly, adopts the reading of the sing. עֲטָרָה. It is a well known fact, however, that the so-called *pluralis inhumanus* is frequently construed with a singular verb,² and this is the regular construction in Arabic. Hitzig thinks that two crowns were signified, one made of gold, and the other of silver. The question cannot be decided, however, from the plural form of עֲטָרוֹת, nor from the singular verb תִּהְיֶה (v. 14), but only by a critical study of the whole passage.

A careful examination will convince any unprejudiced reader that the original form of the prophecy has been tampered with.

¹ Cf. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, part 5 (Berlin, 1892) pp. 48, 178.

² See Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, p. 472k; Ewald § 317a.

From v. 11 it would appear that Joshua, the high priest, was to assume both the insignia of royalty and the priestly dignity, whereas, the concluding words of v. 13 'and there shall be a priest upon his throne' (or better read with the LXX 'at his right hand'), 'and a counsel of peace shall be between them both' would seem to indicate that at some previous time the names of both Zerubbabel and Joshua were mentioned in the prophecy, the former to be crowned as head of the temporal power, and the latter as head of the spiritual power. Moreover, the term 'sprout' (צֶמַח v. 12) is a title distinctly given (*cf.* Jer. 23, 5; 33, 15) to the Messiah who was to be a scion of the house of David. Now, this title applies very well to Zerubbabel but not to Joshua. Ewald suggested that we should read in v. 11 'upon the head of Zerubbabel and upon the head of Joshua.' A more critical examination of the passage shows, however, very clearly that in the original form of the prophecy only the name of Zerubbabel was mentioned. According to Haupt¹ the text of the passage passed through three stages. Originally only the name of Zerubbabel was in the text. Then the name of Joshua was inserted, and while both names were in the text a gloss was added at the end of v. 13 'and a counsel of peace shall be between them both.' Later the name of Zerubbabel was omitted out of fear of interference on the part of the Persian government. For as long as the Jews remained a religious sect the Persian government would not interfere, but as soon as they showed national aspirations by crowning a scion of the royal family, they would immediately be accused of plotting defection from Persia. The enemies of the Jews, especially the Samaritans, would have been but too glad to get hold of Zechariah's prophecy in its original form, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the Persian ruler to the disloyalty of the Jews. It is, therefore, very easy to see why the name of Zerubbabel was omitted. The name of the high priest was retained as the crowning of the spiritual head was not likely to arouse any suspicion. Verse 14 was further added as a political gloss in order to show that the crown was intended exclusively for religious purposes. For similar reasons they have altered the names of the four Babylonian Jews who brought gold and silver for the making of the crown.² But if originally only the

¹ He interpreted this passage in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, in the session 1903-1904.

² *Cf.* vv. 10 and 14.

name of Zerubbabel was in the text, the pl. עֲטֻרוֹת must be explained as *intensive*, equal to a *most magnificent crown*. We find a support for our interpretation in the Chaldee paraphrase which renders the plural by כְּלִיל רַב 'a great crown.'

For דְּהִידָה כְּהֵן לִיְמִינִי (v. 13) Haupt reads *and he (Zerubbabel) shall be priest at my right hand, i. e., of God.*¹ Zerubbabel was to assume according to Zechariah (as also according to the author of Ps. 110) not only the insignia of royalty, but also to be priest at the right hand of God. Haupt also omits the last clause of v. 12 וּבְנָה אֶת הַיְכָל יְהוָה (omitted in the Syriac version), and he regards the beginning of the next verse וְהָיָה יְהוָה אֶת הַיְכָל יְהוָה as a variant to this clause.

The pl. עֲטֻרוֹת is also *intensive* in Job 31, 36b:

אֶעֱדִיפֵי עֲטֻרוֹת לִי

I would adorn myself with it as if it were a *magnificent crown*.

Like עֲטֻרוֹת Zech. 6, 10, 14; Job 31, 36, the greatest Jewish poet of the Middle Ages, Rabbi Yehuda Halevi (1086–1142), employs כְּרוֹנִים (plural of כֹּרֶן 'crown') as *pluralis intensivus*, in his famous Ode to Zion.

יִשְׁנֶה וְיִחַלֶּוּהָ כְּלִיל כָּל־מַמְלָכוֹת הָאֱלִיל
הַסֶּבֶק לְעוֹלָם לְדוֹר וָדוֹר כְּרוֹנִים:

It will change and pass away the crown of the kingdom of the heathen,
But thy power is eternal, for all generations is *thy magnificent crown*.

Dan. 7, 9 כְּרוֹנִים "thrones" = a *magnificent throne*.

Dan. 7, 9–14 pictures a celestial assize held for the purpose of executing judgment upon the Gentile power. The Almighty, who appears in the likeness of an aged man with hair like spotless wool, and snow-white raiment, takes his seat upon a Magnificent Throne (כְּרוֹן) of fire, and is surrounded by His myriads of celestial attendants. The word for throne in v. 9 is in the plural in order to designate a *magnificent throne*.

The plurals אֲדֹנִים 'lords' and בָּעָלִים 'masters' are frequently employed in a singular sense, but these two *intensive plurals* are too well known to require any discussion.²

¹ The LXX reads לִיְמִינִי כְּהֵן דְּהִידָה; cf. Ps. 110, which Haupt refers to Zerubbabel; in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 114 (June, 1894) p. 110.

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautsch²⁷, p. 403, i.

In Ps. 105, 6 the pl. בְּחִירִים 'chosen ones' is employed to designate Jacob.

זֶרַע אַבְרָהָם עַבְדּוֹ בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב בְּחִירֵי:

Ye seed of Abraham His servant,
Ye sons of Jacob His Chosen One.

Hupfeld, Wellhausen, and Duhm, following Dyserink, read the sing. בְּחִירִי; Baethgen reads with the LXX the pl. עַבְדּוֹ in the first hemistich, and refers בְּחִירֵי and עַבְדּוֹ not to אַבְרָהָם and יַעֲקֹב but to זֶרַע and בְּנֵי. It is better, however, to retain the ~~ss~~ reading, and to take the pl. בְּחִירִים as *intensive*.

With the above passage compare Ps. 114, 2:

הָיְתָה יְהוּדָה לְקֹדֶשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מְמִשְׁלָתִי:

Judah became his sanctuary,
Israel—His Great Dominion.

Ps. 105, 15 מְשִׁיחִי My Anointed and נְבִיאִי My Prophet. Wellhausen¹ correctly observes that the terms *the chosen, the anointed, the prophet*, as employed in this passage, can be used only in the singular. 'There is only one Prophet or Messiah at one time (e. g., Abraham, Isaac, Jacob), and God can speak only concerning this one.' Wellhausen points, therefore, to בְּמִשְׁחִי וְלְנְבִיאִי. This emendation is, however, quite unnecessary, for like בְּחִירֵי (v. 6) these plurals may be explained as *intensive*.

In quite a number of passages in the Old Testament the royal city of Judah (i. e., Jerusalem) is denoted by the plural עָרִים cities, i. e., the city *par excellence*.²

Is. 40, 9.

עֲלֵהָר גְּבוּהָ עַל־לְךָ מִבְּשָׂרַת צִיּוֹן
הֲרִימִי בְּקוֹלְךָ מִבְּשָׂרַת יְרוּשָׁלַם
אִמְרִי לְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

Get thee up on a high mountain,
O thou that bringest good tidings to Zion!
Lift up mightily thy voice,
O thou that bringest good tidings to Jerusalem!
Say to the Capital of Judah,
Here is your God.

¹ Cf. Notes on Psalms (SBOT) p. 104, l. 14; Crit. Notes on Psalms (SBOT) p. 93, l. 10.

² See Haupt in Drugulin's *Marksteine*.

³ אִמְרִי לְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה is a later scribal expansion, as is shown by the meter.

Cf. Is. 64, 9; Lam. 5, 11, etc.

In Cant. 1, 17 the abode of the bride and bridegroom (who are termed King and Queen) is denoted by the pl. **בָּתֵּי** = The Magnificent Abode.¹ In the El-Amarna Letters the pl. *bitati* is also frequently employed in a singular sense. *Cf.*, for instance, Winckler, *The Tell El-Amarna Letters*, No. 19 (B.²) l. 9, and No. 25 (L.³) ll. 2 and 6.

In conclusion may be mentioned a few plural nouns denoting appurtenances of great personages: **מִשְׁכָּבִים** *bed*, Gen. 49, 4; **יְצִיעִים** *bed*, Ps. 63, 7; Job 17, 13.

E. Intensive Plurals of Abstract Nouns.

A great many abstract nouns in Hebrew that are commonly employed in the singular are sometimes used in the plural for the purpose of intensifying the idea inherent in the stem. These plurals may very frequently express the idea of 'fullness' or 'excellence.' The following are the clearest examples of *intensive plurals* of abstract nouns in the Old Testament:

שִׂמְחָהוֹת Ps. 45, 16, *great gladness*, and Ps. 16, 11, *supreme gladness*; **בְּרָכָהוֹת** Ps. 21, 7, *abundant blessing*; **הִקְבָּלוֹת** Ps. 49, 4; Prov. 24, 7, *profound wisdom*; **בִּינָהוֹת** Is. 27, 11, and **תְּבִינָהוֹת** Is. 40, 14; Ps. 49, 4; 78, 72; Prov. 11, 12; 28, 16, *keen understanding*; **בִּטְחוֹת** Job 12, 6, and **מִבְטָחִים** Is. 32, 18, *full confidence*; **גְּבוּרָהוֹת** Job 41, 4, *extraordinary strength*, and Is. 63, 15, *of the strength of God*; **יָדָעוֹת** 1 Sam. 2, 3, and **יָדָעִים** Job 36, 4; 37, 16, *thorough or profound knowledge*; **אֱמוּנָהוֹת** Prov. 28, 30, and **אֱמוּנָיִם** Prov. 20, 6, *perfect faithfulness*; **אוֹנִים** Is. 40, 26, *omnipotence*; **חַמָּהוֹת** Ps. 76, 11; Prov. 22, 24, *fierce wrath*; **מַחְסָרָהּ** Prov. 24, 34, *thy utter want or destitution*; **מִשְׁפָּתָהּ** Lam. 1, 7, *her utter destruction*; **נִקְמָהוֹת** Judg. 11, 36; 2 Sam. 4, 8, *great vengeance*; **נְדָבוֹת** Ps. 110, 3, *all willingness*; **רָחוּם** Ps. 5, 10; 38, 13; 52, 4; 55, 12; 57, 2; 91, 3; 94, 20; Prov. 17, 4; 19, 13; Job 6, 9, *utter destruction*; **תַּהֲרִיבוֹת** Job 21, 2, and **תַּהֲרִיבִים** Ps. 94, 19, *an abundance of consolation*; **עֲבָרוֹת**

¹ *Cf.* Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Reprinted from THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE, Vol. XVIII, pp. 193-245; Vol. XIX, pp. 1-3 (July and October, 1902), p. 64, note on l. 17.

² *Cf.* Solomon Glassius, *Philologia Sacra* (1706), col. 618: **שִׂמְחָהוֹת** (Ps. 45, 16) *laetitiae, h. e. summa laetitia*.

³ *Cf.* Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 59, l. 45.

Job 40, 11, 21, 30; Ps. 7, 7, *violent wrath* or *great flood of wrath*; תַּנְנוּמוֹת Job 33, 15, *deep slumber* (cf. Prov. 24, 23); פְּשָׁרוֹת Ps. 68, 7, *complete happiness* or *prosperity*; אֲשֶׁר־ Ps. 1, 1, etc., *the happiness of*; הִרְפּוֹת Dan. 12, 2, *utter contempt*; מוֹשָׁעוֹת Ps. 68, 21, and יִשְׁעוֹת Is. 26, 18; 33, 6; Ps. 18, 51; 28, 8; 42, 6, 12; 43, 5; 53, 7; 74, 12; 116, 13, *complete salvation*; חֲשֵׁכִים and מְחֲשֵׁכִים *thick darkness*; מְנוּחָהוֹת Ps. 23, 2, *perfect quietude*; חֲמִידוֹת Dan. 9, 23; 11, 19, *greatly beloved*; אֵימִים Ps. 88, 16; Job 20, 25, *great terror*; cf. חֲרִידוֹת Ezek. 26, 16; בְּהִלּוֹת Jer. 15, 8; and בְּלִהוֹת Ezek. 26, 16; 27, 36; Ps. 73, 19; צִהְצְהוֹת Is. 58, 11, *complete aridity*; מְרִאוֹת Gen. 46, 2; Ezek. 43, 3 *a great or important vision*; מְסֻתָּרִים Ps. 10, 8; 17, 12; Lam. 3, 10a, *close hiding place*; הִבְלִים Ecc. 5, 6, *utter vanity*; מְמוֹתִים Jer. 16, 4; Ezek. 28, 8, *cruel death*; עֲצוֹת Deut. 32, 28, *true counsel*.

Ps. 87, 3, נִכְבְּדוֹת *a most glorious thing*. Psalm 87 is a poem of the Dispersion. The underlying idea is that although the Jews are dispersed all over the world, still Zion continues to be the spiritual mother of them all. The original text of the Psalm is not well preserved, but Haupt has probably succeeded in restoring it. He believes that the Psalm began with 3a נִכְבְּדוֹת מִדְּבַר בָּךְ and regards עִיר אֱלֹהִים as a gloss to בָּךְ. The first stanza² of the Psalm reads, therefore, according to Haupt, as follows:

1b יסודתו בהררי קדש	3a נכבדות מדבר בך
מכל משכנות יעקב:	2 אוהב שערי ציון

A most glorious thing is spoken of thee,
His foundation on *the great holy mountain*.
God loveth the gates of Zion
Above all the dwellings of Jacob.³

For the pl. הררי cf. p. 198.

¹ Cf. S. Glassius, *Philologia Sacra*, col. 618, note on Ecc. 5, 6: In *multitudine somniorum* הִבְלִים *vanitates*, h. e. *maxima vanitas*.

² The psalm must be divided into three stanzas, each stanza consisting of two *meshalim* or poetic lines; each *meshal* has two hemistichs, and each hemistich three beats.

³ Professor Haupt restored the original text of the psalm in connection with the interpretation of Messianic Psalms, in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, during the session 1902-03.

F. Several Miscellaneous Examples of the 'Pluralis Intensivus.'

In Ecc. 7, 26 the pl. מְצוּדִים 'snares' = A Great Snare, and the pl. חֲרָמִים 'nets' = A Great Net. Cf. Böttcher, *Ausfuhr. Lehr. d. hebr. Spr.*, vol. 1, p. 488.

In Prov. 7, 22, Haupt reads פְּתָאִים (plural of פֶּתִי 'simple') for פְּתָאָם, and renders it *this colossal simpleton, this arrant fool*. For a full discussion of this passage see Crit. Notes on Prov. (SBOT) p. 40, ll. 23 ff.

In several passages (Job 17, 1; 21, 23; 2 Chron. 16, 14) the pl. קְבָרִים = a great grave, i. e., a Mausoleum. Cf. Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob* (1902) p. 157, note on 17, 1.

Cf. the Ethiop. pl. *magäber* employed in a singular sense.

APPENDIX.

THE 'PLURALIS INTENSIVUS' IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

The 'intensive plural' is but rarely met with in Rabbinical Literature. The following, however, may be mentioned:

While in the OT the pl. בְּעָלִים is employed in a singular sense only with suffixes, in the Talmud it is used frequently also in the absolute state; cf., for instance, *Baba Kama*, 54a בעלים ליה דאית כל *everything that has an owner*; *ibid.*, 57a דעת בעלים *the knowledge of the owner*, etc.

The plurals מְרִיךְ and רְבוּרֵךְ are occasionally employed in a singular sense, as equivalent to Heb. מְרִיךְ and רְבוּרֵךְ, e. g., Targum to Isa. 1, 3 דַּע חֲמִירָא אֲרִיָּא דְּמִרְדִּי (בְּעָלִיו = מְרִיךְ); cf. Gen. R., section 58 מֵאֲרִי בֵּיתָא *the owner (or master) of the house*, and Deut. R., section 2 אֲנָא מְרִי דְּנַפְשִׁי *I am master of my desire*. In the Talmud מְרוֹתָא, commonly employed as a plural of מֵר, is sometimes used in a singular sense, like מְרִיךְ in the passages quoted above, e. g., *Baba Bathra*, 3b קטלנהו לכולהו *he (Herod) killed all of his master's family*; *Baba Kama*, 103a רכיתנא מֵר *the owner of the flask*; *ibid.* מְרוֹתָא דְּהִצְר *the owner of the court*. Compare Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, The Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi*, p. 834; Levy, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldaisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. II, p. 234. Targum to Gen. 40, 1 לְרַבְּנֵהוּן לְמִלְפָּנַי דְּמַצְרַיִם

¹ Cf. Winer, *Grammatik des biblischen und targumischen Chaldaismus* (Leipzig, 1834) p. 108, 3.

(לְאֲדֹנֵיהֶם = לְרַבּוֹנֵיהֶן) *to their lord, the King of Egypt*; cf. also Targum 1 Ki. 22, 17; Ps. 136, 3, and Targum Yerushalmi, Gen. 19, 2; 42, 33.

שְׁמַיָּא (or Aram. שְׁמַיָּא) is a common name for God in Rabbinical Literature. Cf. *Pirke Aboth* 1, 3; 4, 12 (cf. ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν for ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ in the New Testament; cf. also Matt. 23, 22). It is intended as a plural of majesty on analogy of אֱלֹהִים. The plural שְׁמַיָּא as a name for God is found also in Dan. 4, 3 (דִּי שַׁלְטָן שְׁמַיָּא *that heaven rules*), and probably also in Job 15, 15.¹

Finally, we will mention Targ. to Jer. 15, 8 חֵל יַמְּיָן (= Hebr. חֹל יָמִים) *the sand of the sea*; and Am. 3, 9 עַל הַר שְׁמֵרֹן (= Hebr. עַל הָרִי שְׁמֵרֹן) *upon Mount Samaria*.

¹ Thus also 1 Macc. 4, 10; 24, 55. Cf. Shak., *All's Well that Ends Well*, III, 4, *her prayers, whom heaven delights to hear*.

THE MISSING PAGES OF AN OLD ARABIC ANTHOLOGY.

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Abu Bekr Mohammed ibn Ja'far ibn Aḥmed ibn el-Ḥosain es-Sarrāj lived in Bagdad, and died in the year 500 A. H. (1106 A. D.). According to Ibn Ḥallikān, he was one of the most learned men of his time, a noted *ḥafīẓ* and teacher of tradition. He was also a poet of no mean rank, as appears both from his reputation among his contemporaries and from the specimens of his poetry which have been preserved. He seems to have been the author of several works;¹ but the one by which he was best known to the literary world, and the only one which has survived to the present day, is the anthology to which he gave the name *كتاب مصارع العشاق*.

This title, *Maṣāri' al-'Uṣṣāq*, "The Places Where Lovers Have Met Their Fate," comes much nearer to indicating the nature of the book than is the case with most Arabic titles. That which es-Sarrāj has given us here is a collection of stories of loves and lovers, gathered from the classical and popular traditions of the Arabic-speaking world. All of the favorites of old Arabian story are here: Tauba (or Majnūn) and his Laila, 'Urwa and 'Afrā, Qais ibn Dharīḥ and Lubnā, Jamīl and Buthaina, and other couples hardly less renowned, and whose experiences were no less charmingly heart-rending. A few of the more remote celebrities, such as Yūsuf and Zuleikhā, receive mention or furnish an anecdote, but the most of the material is taken from close at hand. Among the caliphs whose names now and then appear, Ḥarūn er-Rašīd plays a very insignificant rôle—a fact which speaks well for the comparative trustworthiness of the book. Stories of Bedouin life have a prominent place, and, like the others, are generally interesting and always well told.

Like the classical examples to which allusion has been made, the great majority of these anecdotes have a distinctly mournful

¹ See H. H., II, 437, and VI, 137.

tinge. They are histories of hopeless or unfortunate attachments, and end with a funeral. The ominous title of the book is thus fully justified. The author writes in the true spirit of the old theological dogma which tradition was inclined to ascribe to Mohammed himself: "He who dies as love's victim dies a martyr, and paradise is his portion." From this point of view, the book might be called a martyrology of an unusually interesting type. It does contain, to be sure, a great many stories and incidents which end in the happiest manner; but both the author's pious turn of mind and his classical taste led him to prefer those of the more somber hue. Another point in which the stories are truly classical is their general tone of propriety and respectability. So far as incident is concerned, many of them are lively enough, and unconventional enough, it is hardly necessary to say; but all are told with a reserve and a dignity which are never relaxed.

In its combination of poetry with prose, the book resembles the *Aghant*. It is as truly an anthology of verse as of prose narrative. The proportion, too, is about the same as in the *Aghant*, half poetry, half prose. As a specimen of pure literary Arabic, it ranks high, and deserves to be widely read by occidental scholars. The fact is to be remarked that for each one of the narratives, bits of verse, or scraps of anecdote a full chain of authorities is given, in the good old style which soon ceased to be practicable in such works. Moreover, as es-Sarrāj is a scholar addressing a cultured audience, he frequently introduces comments of his own which have considerable literary and historical interest.

Although much read in its own day and for some time after, the *مصارع العشاق* was ultimately supplanted by other works of the same class, some of which borrowed from it extensively, or even consisted in the main of abridged versions of it. Hence it happens that in modern times manuscripts of the book are extremely rare, and that it was hardly known even by name until the printed edition appeared, some twenty years ago. This modern print is a well-executed octavo of about four hundred pages, published in Constantinople (*Jawā'id Press*) in the year 1301 (1884 A. D.). It seems to have been based on a manuscript of very good quality, and its readings are generally satisfactory. The publication has remained nearly unknown in the Occident. I have never met with an allusion to the book, and in talking

with one of the highest authorities in the field of Arabic literature, a short time ago, I was surprised to find that he knew nothing of it.

But the particular feature of the book, as it now exists, to which I wish to call attention, is a remarkable lacuna in one of its narratives. It is in the story of the Young Spendthrift of Bagdad and his Singing-Girl, a tale which is familiar to all those who have read the *Thousand and One Nights*. From the middle of this tale a long passage has been omitted, the manner of the omission and the subsequent history of the defective text being the especially noticeable features. The place of the gap is the middle of a sentence, the two halves of which now seem to fit each other perfectly. There is neither anacolouthon nor grammatical irregularity, but it all reads smoothly from beginning to end. Moreover, by a singular coincidence the two halves of the accidentally created compound correspond in matter as well as in form. In either one the hero of the story is speaking in the first person and making mention of another man in whose company he happens to be. The text reads as follows (p. 382, top): فَلَمَّا

صَرْنَا عِنْدَ كِلْوَادِي أَخْرَجَ الطَّعَامَ وَأَكَلَ هُوَ فَصَعِدْتُ وَجَلَسْتُ مَعَهُ وَدَبَّرْتُ أَمْرَهُ "So when we came opposite Kelwādha, food was

brought, and he ate, and I went up and sat beside him, and took charge of his affairs." This certainly sounds like continuous narrative; but the pronoun of the third person in the two halves of the sentence refers to two altogether different men. The lacuna comes just after the word هُوَ. In what precedes, the hero is in a certain well-defined situation, while from this point onward he is in totally different surroundings, though the fact does not immediately appear. The words next following the break, "and I went up and sat beside him," happen to be perfectly suited to the scene which precedes, and one might even read on for a clause or two without realizing what a jump has been made. But the shock comes very soon; for whereas the reader had supposed the young man of Bagdad to be in a boat on the river, disguised as a common sailor, with his singing-girl (now the property of another man) almost within arm's reach, and the situation becoming more exciting every moment—he suddenly finds that the scene has changed, somehow, without warning; the hero is

apprenticed to a green-grocer in the city of Baṣra earning a dirhem a day, and in a fair way to marry the grocer's daughter! Evidently this is not a case of intentional abridgement. When it is observed that about one thousand words have been dropped at this point, the explanation of the matter is beyond doubt; a double leaf (four pages) fell out by accident, and the loss was not noticed.

Now, aside from the printed edition, two manuscripts of this work are known to western scholars, both of them in the British Museum.¹ I examined them with some care ten years ago. The one proved (contrary to the representation of the *Catalogue*) to be nothing more than a very meager abridgment of the work, and this particular story is lacking in it altogether. The other is a very old and fine codex which once belonged to Von Kremer. In this precisely *the same gap* is found which appears in the printed text. The only known copies of the book, then, have this defect. The Constantinople edition was not made from the Von Kremer manuscript, as comparison shows.

Fortunately, however, we are not yet at the end of our resources. The gap can be filled, and filled exactly, from another book, as I shall show. That which first led me to examine the مصارع العشاق was a theory of mine that it was the direct source of certain stories found in an anthology of el-Ghozālī, who lived some three hundred years later (†815 A. H. = 1412 A. D.)² The comparison has borne out the conjecture; the literary relation is of the very closest kind. There were, in fact, at least three such collections of good stories which derived more or less of their material from es-Sarrāj; namely, the أسواق الأشواق of el-Biqā'ī (†885 A. H. = 1480 A. D.), the تزيين الاسواق of Da'ūd el-Anṭakī (†1005 A. H. = 1596-97 A. D.), and the

¹ For the numbers, see Brockelmann's *Arabische Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 351.

² For a partial description of this anthology, entitled مطالع البدور في منازل السرور, and of the stories mentioned, I may refer to my article in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XVI (1893), pp. 43 seqq. The literature of this story of the Young Man of Bagdad is given on p. 44. To the list of the manuscripts of el-Ghozālī's book, given on p. 43, should be added Codex 3415 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. This manuscript, of which I have recently made a partial collation, is an important one. It is carefully written, and seems to belong to a line of literary transmission different from that represented by the other existing texts. It contains, for example, the word رسول which I supplied by conjecture in my edition of one of the stories (*loc. cit.*, p. 58, n. 12).

مطالع البدور of el-Ghozûlî. Of these, the first two are abridgments giving nearly everything in considerably shortened form; see, for example, the specimens printed by Kosegarten in his *Chrestomathy* (this story, pp. 22 *sqq.*), and compare his Preface, p. x *sq.* In el-Ghozûlî, on the other hand, only a few things are borrowed from es-Sarrâj, but these are transferred without change or loss. The dependence is undoubtedly direct, not through any intermediate work or works. The variant readings are only such slight verbal changes as inevitably arise, even in a very short time, in the manuscript transmission of such popular tales as these. Then—to go a step farther—some of these same stories were carried over into the *Thousand and One Nights* from el-Ghozûlî (not from es-Sarrâj), with but slight change. Here, in the subsequent history of the text, the transmission by successive copyists was much more careless, involving many small alterations and occasional omissions or additions; whence it happens that the text of the *Nights*, as we know it, is of little use to the makers of critical editions.

Whoever, then, wishes to see the story of the Young Man of Bagdad and his Singing-Girl in its oldest and most complete form must take the *Maşârî' al-'Uşşâq*, where the tale is given with all the apparatus of tradition, and on reaching the lacuna fill in from el-Ghozûlî. The following is an outline of the narrative, with the Arabic text of the latter book at the two margins of the lacuna:

The spendthrift hero is obliged to sell his *qaina*, who is thereupon bought by a rich merchant and carried on board a boat bound for Baṣra. The hero disguises himself as a boatman and embarks with them at the last moment. The merchant soon asks for music (*Ghoz.*, i, 189, l. 3):

فلما صار عند كلواذى اخرج
الطعام واكل هو [والجارية واكل الباقون على وسط الزلال واطعم
الملاحين ثم اقبل على الجارية الخ

The girl complies, but makes such doleful work of it that all festivity is brought to an end. Soon after, the young man of Bagdad makes himself known, and is most generously treated by the merchant, who gives him back his *qaina*. The ensuing celebration is unnecessarily thorough. As the boat touches at one of the banks, in the course of the night, the hero lands, falls into a drunken sleep, and the boat goes away without him, since the others, including the girl, are

all too intoxicated to notice his absence. He at last finds his way to Baṣra, but is penniless, and has no way of finding either the girl or the merchant. It is at this juncture that the grocer takes him into his shop (*Ghoz.*, i, 191, l. 4 *a f.*): فقال تعبد معي كل يوم بنصف درهم وطعامك وكسوتك وتضبط لي حساب دكاني فقلت له نعم قال لي اصعد فصعدت وخرقت الرقعة وجلست معه ودبرت امره وضبطت دخله وخرجه الخ. Our hero accepts the position, and is prospered. He is saved by the grace of Allah from marrying the grocer's daughter. Some time later he hears news of the long-lost *qaina*, and makes his way to her just as she is digging a grave. The grave-digging is abandoned, and the reunited pair live together happily to the end of their days.

KING'S STUDIES IN EASTERN HISTORY. I.¹

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This book is the first in a series of small volumes prepared on various epochs in the history of Western Asia, containing, in addition to a number of historical studies, also unpublished documents which throw new light upon the periods of which they treat. We have known thus far next to nothing of Tukulti-Ninib I, the grandson of Adad-Nirari I; and we, therefore, welcome the new inscription, a memorial tablet, which forms the chief attraction in this, handsomely done and well printed, book. For it enlarges, to some extent at least, our so scanty knowledge of the history of Assyria and her relations with Babylonia during the early part of the thirteenth century, B. C.

The text contains an account of the founding, by the king, of the city and the city-wall of Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, situate near the Tigris between Kuyunjik and Kal'a Sherkat; preceded by a list of the military expeditions which he had conducted up to the time the tablet was engraved. We learn, for the first time, of extensive conquests to the north and east of Assyria, made in a series of expeditions of the king, who closes the narrative of his campaigns by an account of his invasion of Babylonia and the complete subjugation of Sumer and Akkad. The introduction of 76 pages² takes up such matters as: (1) Materials for the Early History of Assyria; (2) The Memorial Tablets of Adad-Nirari I³ and Tukulti-Ninib I; (3) The Historical Value of the New Memorial Tablet; (4) Description of the Tablet;⁴ (5) Analysis of the Text; (6) Babylonian and Assyrian Foundation Memorials;⁵ (7) Egyptian Foundation Deposits compared; (8) The Foundation Sacrifice; (9) Object and

¹ STUDIES IN EASTERN HISTORY. I: Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I, King of Assyria, about B. C. 1275. Edited and translated from a memorial tablet in the British Museum (No. 96494) by L. W. King. London: Luzac & Co., 1904. xviii + 185 pp.

² Or, rather 56 pages, for 10 leaves are taken up by photographic reproductions of successive portions of the Memorial Tablet. Texts and Translations follow on pp. 78-137; the Cuneiform Texts, pp. 141-175; followed by an index, pp. 177-85. Three times, in this carefully gotten-up index the same misprint Tulkulti, instead of Tukulti, is found.

³ For which see IV Rawlinson, second edition (= IV² R.), pl. 39; KB., Vol. I, pp. 4-9; and R. F. Harper's translation, pp. 10, 11, of his *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*. P. 3, footnote 1, King says: "Adad-Nirari's slab records the rebuilding of a portion of the temple buildings called the *ṣirlala*; the exact meaning of the word is uncertain." I believe the word should be read *muṣlala* = roof, for which see my Dictionary (= CD.), p. 572, col. 1, and Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 81, col. 2, ll. 1 sqq.

⁴ To judge from the blunders occurring in this short inscription of 67 lines, we must say that the engraver, who doubtless copied from an exemplar before him, was both inexperienced and inaccurate. In addition to the omissions and errors mentioned by King, some further will be discussed shortly.

⁵ With an explanation, for the benefit of the general reader, of the difference between the *temenu*, or inscribed clay cylinder, and the *nara*, or stone memorial tablet. See also CD., pp. 724, 725.

Origin of the Foundation Deposits; (10) Their Manner of Burial; (14) Early Relations of Assyria and Babylonia;⁶ (19) Tukulti-Ninib's Successors; and (20) Problems connected with Tukulti-Ninib's rule in Babylon.

To the lexicographer pp. 78-137, containing the texts and translations, are, of course, of chief interest and to a discussion of these we shall devote the major part of this notice.

Pp. 78-95: THE ANNALS OF TUKULTI-NINIB I.⁷

Obverse, 1-8: *Introduction*.—3-4 šar ħur-ša-ni u na-me-e rap-šūti^{pl}, "the king of the highlands and of the broad plains." The meaning "plain" for namû is not quite proven. "Surroundings" would be much better; see Hammurabi-letter 30, 11 (a) Ra-ḫa-bu (ki) u na-me(ve)-e-šu (and its surroundings, = 𐎶𐎶𐎶); III R., pl. 53 a 30 ina (41, 39 eli) ali u na-me-e-šu. K. 2675, rev. l. 9 u-šaḫ-ri-bu na-me-e-šu, i. e., of Jamutbala.—Is šar matu Šu-ba-ri-i 𐎶u-ti-i really correct? We should expect either matu also before 𐎶u-ti-i, or both written as in IV² R., pl. 39 a 4, etc.—6. On kib-rat irbitta(ta) see now Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 369, 551, 564, 586, in addition to *CD.*, pp. 368, 369.—i-na šib-baṭ kiš-šu-ti-šu is, of course, to be read, with Johns⁸ and Peiser, i-na me-til kiššūtišu; see metlu, *CD.*, p. 623, col. 1 and compare l. 20 of li-it kiš-šu-ti-ia, which, without a doubt, is a synonym of the former.—The -ma at the end of l. 8 should be translated: likewise (king of Assyria). On ilu Šulmānu(nu)-ašaridu see *CD.*, p. 1045; *KAT.*⁹, pp. 224, 474, 475.

Obverse, l. 9—Reverse, l. 1: *Tukulti Ninib's Campaigns*, closing with the defeat of Bitilashu and the conquest of Sumer and Akkad.—9 (end) read 𐎶u (not Ku)-ti-i—10, 11 matu U-ḫu-ma-ni-i matu El-ḫu-ni-a u matu Šar-ni-da | matu Me-iḫ-ri, etc., "the Uḫuman and the lands of Elkhunia and Sharnida and Mekhri." Peiser suggests to read Šar-ni DA (= itti, at the side of, Brünnow, No. 6657) matu Me-iḫ-ri, referring to Budge and King's *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, Vol. I, p. 119, 13, where Tiglath-Pileser is said to have conquered [the land of 𐎶uma]ni as far as the mountain (Peiser and also now King, p. 45, rem. 3: land) of Mekhri (var. Mikhri); and also to Esarh. (I R., pl. 45), col. ii, l. 25 a¹ Me-iḫ-ra-nu, called in the parallel text, III R., pl. 15, col. iii, l. 13 matu Mi-iḫ-ra-nu. Peiser would identify these with

⁶ A chapter of great interest and well written. The Bēl-ibni, mentioned on p. 59, ll. 1 seq., as the first independent king of Assyria whom Esarhaddon describes as "founder of the kingdom of Assyria" is also mentioned in 81-6-7, 209, l. 28, another building inscription, where Esarhaddon calls himself li-ip-li-pi da-ru-u ša Bēl-ba-ni apil A-da-si šar (māt) Aššar (kt), *BAS*, Vol. III, p. 353.

⁷ We doubt not that King, in a second edition of his book, may be induced to change the name "Annals" to that of "Records," or "Laudatory Text," in case he should consider Peiser's remarks, *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung* (= *OLZ.*), Vol. VIII, cols. 55, 56 (Febr., 1905), as to the point. To be sure, in other instances the author calls the inscription a memorial tablet, p. 76 et al. A new edition will, undoubtedly, also give an account concerning the acquisition and place of discovery of this new inscription. By the way, the Adad-Nirari tablet's purchase is discussed in pref. p. ix and p. 2 of the text, not on p. 3.

⁸ In his review of King's book, published in the *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, January, 1905, pp. 292 seq.

the Mekhri of our text. He also suggests changing of Šar (in Šar-ni) into Ķi-pa-ni, mentioned in Anp., col. iii, ll. 93, 94, assuming a mistake on the part of the engraver who copied from a tablet before him.⁹ The chief difficulty in ll. 10, 11 is the strange reading *mātu U-ku-ma-ni-i*. In Tigl.-Pil., col. vi, 24, we meet the ^{amēl} *Ķu-ma-ni-i* (see, also, col. v, ll. 73, 82) whose city the king captures and whose wide country he conquers (ll. 36, 37). Another instance of the occurrence of this name in a Tigl.-Pil. inscription is given by King, pp. 46, 47. Why here the unusual *mātu U-ku-ma-ni-i*? I believe that the U- in *U-ku-ma-ni-i* belonged to the next line. The engraver, whose inexperience and carelessness is seen in other instances,¹⁰ copying from an exemplar before him interchanged the beginning of ll. 10 and 11, which must have read originally KUR (= *mātu*) *Ķu-ma-ni-i* and KUR-u (= *šadā*) *Me-iḫ-ri*. Accepting Peiser's suggestion as to Šar-ni DA we would translate: the land of the Ķuti, of the Ķumant, of Elḫunia and of Sharni (or rather, of Kipāni), situate at the side of Mount Mehri. *šadā Me-iḫ-ri* I hold to be the correct reading. The meaning of Mehri is correctly indicated by King when he says, p. 46: the country (rather: the mountain region) took its name from the meḫrā-tree, growing in that locality."—14. Peiser: *mātu Kur-ḫi-i* instead of *mātu Kur-ṭi-i*, connecting it with Kirḫu, Anp., col. iii, 97, 103, etc. Bezold, *Catalogue*, Vol. V., p. 2072. If so, then also Tig.-Pil., col. iii, 47; iv, 12, etc.—17. *i-na ra-ap-pi lu-la-iṭ*, "with flame I burned." On p. 82 rem. 1, Sennacherib, col. i, l. 8, is also referred to, where the king is described as *rap-pu la-'i-iṭ la ma-gi-ri*, "the rappu which burns up the disobedient." But all this appears very doubtful.—Peiser very cleverly suggested for l. 17 (end) to read *šarrāni¹¹ ša pi-ri[-ik]-šu-nu*, the kings of their territory. To be sure, there is no urgent objection against the reading of the text and King's translation; for *šapirātu* in the meaning of "government, rule" occurs in Šalm., Monolith, col. i, l. 4—18. Everybody, of course, will read *d(t)up-ši-ka* as against King's *um-ši-ka*; see CD., p. 264; *d(t)upšikka emid* = *d(t)upšikka u-ša-aš-ši*, which occurs so often. See also the use of *emādu* in the *deluge*, ll. 184, 185. Peiser's suggestion that the *-iš* of *u-šek-iš* in l. 18, differing in form from the *-iš* in l. 22 (end), is a corrupted contraction of the two characters *ni* and *iš*, the fault of the inexperienced engraver, is preferable to King's explanation, p. 83, rem. 3.—19. *ḫur-ša-ni be-ru-ti*, "highlands and valleys." Peiser assumes here *be-* to be a mistake for *bi* (= *gaš*); if not, then read also Sargon, *Khors.*, 14, etc. *huršāni bi* (not *gaš*)-*ru-ti*. King, evidently, considers *be-ru-ti* as

⁹ I wonder whether *mātu Ķi-pa-ni* in Anp., col. iii, l. 93, is the name of a country rather than *mātu Ķi-pa-ni*, to be translated simply by province, governed by a *ḳēpu*, from whom we are informed the king received the tribute of the inhabitants. See also CD., p. 222, col. 1.

¹⁰ See King, p. 10, and *ibid.*, notes 1, 2, and 3.

¹¹ On the meḫrā-tree see CD., p. 534, col. 1. It was probably an immense mountainous forest-territory, such as we find even today in many countries. Peiser's objection to *šadāni*, instead of *mātāti*, is, therefore, groundless, and his reference to ll. 21 *sqq.* unnecessary.

a plural from a singular *bêru*; if so, we should have a rather unusual adjectival plural ending for a plural noun. *ḫur-ša-ni-be-ru-ti* I would rather translate by "deep, dense mountain-forests."¹²—*a-šar la me-te-ki* are "regions where advance is impossible," in meaning equivalent to Tigl.-Pil., col. ii, ll. 73, 74 *eḫil pa-aš-ki ša a-na me-tiḫ narkabāti-ia la-a na-tu-u*. Compare also the frequently occurring *a-šar la* ('a)-*a-ri*, Senn., col. i, l. 18; IV² R., pl. 16 *a* 46, 47 *ina a-ḫa-a-ti a-šar la a-ri*, etc.—20. The plural *ar-ḫa-te(-šu-nu)*, "roads, paths" from the singular *arḫu* is scarce ever met with. As a rule we find *ar-ḫe* (*ed-lu-ti*, etc.); see Tigl.-Pil., col. iv., l. 50.—Also *dap-ni-iā*, l. 22, is a welcome addition to our lexicographical material; *d(ṭ)a-ap-nu*, adj., is one of the many synonyms of *ḫar-ra-du*, Sm. 2052, col. iii, iv, l. 35.¹³ The plural *dap-nu-ti* is read in IV² R., pl. 39 *a* 3, *Adad-Nirāri ni-ir d(ṭ)a-p-nu-ti*, "who subjugates the terrible," unless we agree with Scheil, *Rec. de Travaux*, Vol. XV, pp. 138 *sqq.*, and Streck, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 155, 156, that it is a *nomen gentilicium* and translate: "who subjugated Tapnūti."¹⁴—25 (end). *lu-me-ki-ir*, "I flooded;" see *makaru*, *CD.*, p. 539, col. 1.¹⁵—26. With Peiser read perhaps *kul-la-at mātāti-šu-nu*. He also suggests that the exemplar from which the engraver copied read after *bēlā^{pl}-ia*, l. 29, as follows: *ana^{al} Bābili allikma ina rištūti ša^{11a} Istar rubāt(at) šamē irḫiti(ti) ša ina pāni šābē^{pl}-ia illikū . . . asniḫ*.¹⁶ The twofold occurrence of *alāku* (*allik*, *illiku*) confused the copyist, and hence the present text.—30. On *Bi-be-a-šu* see King, *pref.*, p. x, and pp. 7, 9, 13, 44, 49, 86, 96, etc.¹⁷ It is found abbreviated to *Bi-be*; and is read by Johns, *loc. cit.*, p. 292, and Peiser *Bi-til-(i)a-šu*, the Kassite king of Babylonia.—34. *ki-ma gal-tap-pi*, "like refuse." Both Johns and Peiser have indicated the correct translation of this, the most difficult word in our text. The former refers to *gištappu*, *gilzappu*, *karṭappu*, *kirṣappu*, etc.¹⁸—"a footstool, which," he says, "suits the context well: 'I trampled his lordly neck under my feet like a footstool,'" as a sign of submission the captive allows his conqueror to put his foot upon his neck." Peiser, also, suggests a comparison with *Tel-el-Amarna gi-ir-tab-bu*, *ḫar-*

¹² *bêru*, adj., almost a synom., in this case, of *gašru*.

¹³ See *CD.*, p. 935, col. 1.

¹⁴ On *ṭa(a)pi(t)nu* see *CD.*, p. 357, col. 2. Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 310, translates *a-mu ṭ(d)a-pi-nu* by: "der schreckliche āmu;" *ibid.*, pp. 48, 49 *ad* K. 3454, ii, l. 35 [*at-ta gaš-ru*].¹¹ *Adad ṭ(d)a-pi-nu*, he translates: "Du gewaltiger, furchtbarer Adad;" the fem. *ṭa-pi-it-tu* is assumed in *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 50, l. 58.

¹⁵ Notice in this text the occurrence of *e* and *i*, instead of the usual *a*: *u-šik-ši-du* (6); *u-šek-ni-iā* (18); *lu-me-ki-ir* (25); *u-še-im-ḫit* (32); *rev.*: *u-šek-lil* (8 and 17); *uš-pil-ki* (9); *lu-be-lit* (13); *lu-še-bir* (26); *lu-ḡi-ḡi-ir* (27); *lu-li-mi-in* (29).—On Hebr. *קִרְבָּן* see Haupt in "Kings" (*SBOT.*), p. 238.

¹⁶ Line 31 (end) read *as-ni-iḫ* (not *-ik*).

¹⁷ See "Index," p. 179, col. 1, end.

¹⁸ *CD.*, pp. 219, col. 2: 308, col. 2; 440, col. 2. *Šamši-Adad*, col. ii, l. 15, etc.

¹⁹ For *gištabb(pp)u*, *girtabb(pp)u*, *galtappu* compare *maštakal*, *martakal* and *maltakal* (*CD.*, p. 614, col. 2); *iāḫdu*, *irdudu* and *ildudu* from *šadādu*, *ibid.*, p. 1014, col. 2.

tab-bi (ḡardubu) = "groom."²⁰ The comparison with the obscure similes used by Tiglath-Pileser I in his great Cylinder inscription, mentioned by King, pp. 86, 87, rem. 1, are thus not quite to the point.²¹

Reverse, ll. 2-17: *The Building of Kar-Tukulti-Ninib*.²²—2. On ebirti ali-ia see Peiser, *OLZ.*, Febr., 1905, col. 56. On the use of ebirtu compare *CD.*, p. 11, col. 1. In l. 4 we read i-ta-at ba-it ilāni^{pl}, "in accordance with the desire of the gods;" but in l. 2, according to King, only ilu Bēl bēlu is mentioned who later on is not spoken of at all as one of the great gods (ll. 6, 7). We wonder whether the text of l. 2 is correct? Does ilu A-šur here belong to ali-ia, as King and others say, or may we assume an original ilu Ašur ilu Bēl EN-MEŠ-ia = bēlē-ia?²³ Then, of course, the use of ilāni^{pl} would be quite intelligible.—4. ba-it (ilāni^{pl}) is a welcome addition to the instance in Shalm., Monolith, col. i, l. 6 (*CD.*, p. 137, col. 1). The use of i-ta-at in this connection, to be sure, is rather strange.²⁴—7. For ilu Imina-bi, i. e., ilu Sibitti šunu, see *KAT.*³, pp. 413, 459, 460, 620; and *CD.*, pp. 744, 745.—8. Me-ša-ri, in the meaning of "direct, straight," occurs also in IV² R, pl. 58 a 49: "I conjure thee by . . . me-ša-ri re-bit;" 52. me-ša-ru-um-ma, "straightway, directly," *ZA.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 172, 173. This use of mēšaru is quite seldom. Is eš-ri-ti-šu correct? We would expect -šu-nu, or nothing at all.—Peiser translates ll. 9-11 ḡi-ḡi-ib . . . ar-ku-us: "mit der Wasserfülle dieser Leitung machte ich den grossen Göttern, meinen Herrn, auf ewig eine gesetzmässige Stiftung."—11. ḡa-ḡa-ra-te (ma-da-te) is a most interesting plural. We usually find ḡaḡ-ḡa-ru ma-'-du, Esarh., col. v, l. 6, etc.; Neb. (*EIH.*), col. vi, ll. 25, 26: 4000 ammat ḡa-ḡa-ri i-ta-a-ti Bābili; col. viii, ll. 45, 46.—12. The reading of ilu Nabū is not so certain. The group in Brūnnow, 2291, is quite different from

²⁰ "Pferdeknecht; von kirgabbu, Fusschemel etymologisch, aber nicht sachlich zu trennen und als Pferdediener zu fassen. Tukulti-Ninib trat auf den Nacken des Bitilashu wie auf den eines Pferdeknechtes, der sich auf die Erde kniet und dem König seinen Nacken als Schemel darbietet, damit er sein Ross besteigt."

²¹ ki-ma šut-ma-ši(še), "like chaff," is translated by Feuchtwang, *ZA.*, Vol. V, p. 91: "like sheaves," comparing Hebr. מִן הַמֶּלֶךְ. Meissner, *ZA.*, Vol. VIII, p. 80, following Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, § 65, No. 40b, derives the word from a root š-m-š. Streck, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 167, translates: "Gewimmel, Ameisenhaufen," or the like, i. e., "Bezeichnung einer ausserordentlich grossen Heeresmacht." So also Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, p. 156, rem. 4.—Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, § 65, No. 40, cites also šut-me-ši, K. 13 rev. 10 (= IV² R. pl. 45 b 43; Harper, *Letters*, 231), read by Johnston, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vols. XVIII, p. 141; XIX, p. 81, and by *BAS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 527 sqq., ŠE-BAR šib-ši, "corn-tax" (*CD.*, p. 1006, col. 2), ša māt Elamti gabbi, etc. Streck, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 67, again reads šut-me-ši.—On ki-ma šu(-u)-be(bi), "like standing corn(?)," see *CD.*, p. 1000, col. 2.—ki-ma zi-ir-ki, King, "like swathes(?)," with *CD.*, p. 297, col. 2; where, however, the possibility is suggested of translating "like lambs," agreed to by Streck, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 171, 172, who compares it to azliš unakkis.

²² See, also, Introduction, pp. 40-43.

²³ Obv. K. 28 we read ilu A-šur ilu Bēl u ilu Šamaš ilāni rabūti^{pl} bēlē^{pl}-ia.

²⁴ If it were possible to explain ba-it ilāni^{pl} in the sense of the later(?) bait-ili = bit-ili, see *KAT.*³, pp. 437, 438, it would be much easier to understand these lines. L. 4 would then mean: "In addition to (literally: with, at the side of) the house of the gods, commanded by Bēl(?), I built a great city, a royal dwelling-place."

the one here exhibited.—12, 13. *ti-ik-pi*. We usually find in its stead *ti-ib-ki*, e. g., I R., pl. 44, l. 62: three *šūš xx* (= 200) *ti-ib-ki*; Sargon, Silver, l. 38; Senn., Rass., ll. 81, 82; Bull-inscr., ll. 53, 54. *Ašur-rēš-iši*, *KB*, Vol. I, p. 12, ll. 10, 11: fifteen *ti-ib(p)-ki*; and many other instances.²⁶ *KB*, Vol. I, p. 216, suggests that in Anp., col. ii, l. 132 (and iii, l. 136): 120 *tik-pi a-na muš-pa-li lu-ṭa-bi* is a mistake for *tibki*; but *tik-pi* and variant *ti-ik-pi* also occur in Anp., Stand., l. 17; twice here in our text, and other instances.—13. *lu-be-lit*, Piel of *balātu*, 1 (*CD*, p. 168, col. 1), occurs in Qal also in King, *Magic*, No. 12, l. 56, *ba-aš-ti tab-la-tu*; 45, l. 9; 62, l. 7, *e-peš pi-ku-nu ba-la-tu-um-ma*.—14. *ēkal me-ḥi-ra*, "a palace corresponding to the size thereof." K 2971 c 18 (IV² R., pl. 56) we read *lu-u pa-aš-ša-a-ti šaman mi-ix-ri*, translated in *ZA*, Vol. XVI, p. 163: "mögest du mit vorzüglichem(?) Oel gesalbt werden." If this be correct, we could translate here: "a splendid palace."—*bīt kiš-ša-ti*, "a mighty house;" but this would rather be *bīt kiš-šu-ti*; see *CD*, pp. 454, 455. Perhaps it is to be explained like *alu kiš-ša-ti*, III R., pl. 54, No. 6, l. 30, *KAT*,³ p. 30, rem. 1.²⁷—*šu-bat šarru-ti-ia* is also an apposition to *ēkal* and must not be translated: "for my royal habitation;" that would rather be *ana šūbat šarrūtiia*.—16. *ri-ši-ib-tu be-lu-ti-ia*, "the fortress of my dominion," a welcome lexicographical addition.

Reverse, ll. 18–30: *Conclusion*.—18. read *e-nu(not-na)-ma*.—19. *an-ḥu-su* is "the damaged part (not, parts) thereof."—20. On *šamni pašāšu* see Haupt in *Isaiah (SBOT)*, p. 82, l. 7; *CD*, pp. 846, 847.—21. On *ana ašrišu tāru*, the equivalent of Heb. *אֲשֵׁרֵי*, consult Haupt in *Kings (SBOT)*, p. 199, ll. 40–42.—22 (end). read *na-ri-ia(not-a)*.—23. *u-ša-sa-ku* is an unusual spelling, instead of *u-ša-am-sa-ku*, from *masaku*, *CD*, p. 567; *KB*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 386, 387.

Pp. 96–121: SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS. The texts treat of the history and date of Tukulti-Ninib I. They are:

a) *The Babylonian Chronicle* (82–7–4, 38),²⁷ col. iv, ll. 1–13.—In l. 1 King has succeeded in deciphering the name of Bibeiašhu, which had escaped the notice of former editors and translators.—5. The treasures of Esaggil and of Babylon *ina sil-lat uš-te-ši*, "He profanely brought forth;" translate either: "in impudence," or "as spoil;" see *CD*, pp. 764, col. 2; 1050, col. 1. If *ilū Bēl rabū ilū Marduk* means: "the great lord Marduk," it is a rather strange wording. We would expect *ilū Marduk bēlu rabū*; ll. 11 and 12 do not militate against this. If, however, it means *Bēl*, the great, and *Marduk*, then l. 6 must read [ana] *šub-ti-šu*, the *-šu* referring to Tukulti-Ninib.—*u-za-as-siḥ* = *Ishtafal* of *našaḥu*, for *uštassiḥ*.

b) *Synchronous History*.—S. 2106.²⁸—4. King reads *ŠI-ŠI-šu* as

²⁶ See Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, pp. 669, 700, and my *CD*, Part XVIII.

²⁷ Or, are we to read *bīt [šar] kiš-ša-ti*? Omissions of this kind are not unknown in this tablet.

²⁸ So also read on p. 60, l. 13.

²⁹ Transliteration and translation published also in *KB*, Vol. I, pp. 196, 197, col. i, ll. 24 sqq.

pānātu-šu im-ḥa-aṣ. It is usually read either šī-lim-šu²⁰ or ideographically = abikta-šu.²¹—*ilu* urigallē²²-šu i-bu-ga-šu, "his priests he captured from him." *amēl* urigallu, to be sure, is some sort of a priest; but *ilu* urigallu alone is "a standard," probably "a portable tutelary deity."²³ See Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, p. 126, rem. 9, to No. 26, l. 24, *kaⁿ* urigalla; also p. 140, No. 31-37, ii, ll. 5 and 8. Thureau-Dangin, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 130, rem. 1: "hampe bouclée;" cf. Heuzey, *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, Vol. V, p. 132.—Read i-pu-ga-šu and see *CD.*, 790, col. 1: pāgu, l.—5. the translation in *KB.*, Vol. I, p. 195, col. 1, l. 28, is, I believe, more correct than King's rendering.—6. iṣ-tu tar-ši . . . a-di, see also Tigl.-Pil., col. v, l. 47.—7. am-ma-ma-te is evidently a mistake for am-ma-te.²⁴—K 4401b.²⁵ 5. ina ḳabal-ti [i]-du-ku-ma, so King, following *KB.*, *loc. cit.*; but Johns maintains that such an omission is not necessary to assume. Du-ku could be read italla-ku. At any rate, it would seem rather strange to have the verb mean "they fought" (l. 4); and "he did slay" (l. 5).

c) *The famous copy of Tukulti-Ninib's seal-inscription* from a clay tablet of the time of Sennacherib, by means of which the date of Tukulti-Ninib is fixed approximately. It is labeled K 2673 and published in III R., pl. 4, No. 3.²⁶—2. kišitti(ti) matu Kar-du,²⁷ "booty from the land of Kardu[nishi?]." See *CD.*, 453, col. 1, § 2, where it is translated by "the conqueror of," referring to Tukulti-Ninib; so also Tiele, *Geschichte*, p. 147; Meissner and Rost, *BAS.*, Vol. III, p. 214; but Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme*, questions this again; see also Jensen, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1900, p. 852, rem. 1. Streck, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 161, agrees with Meissner and Rost.—mu-ni-kir is probably better than mu-na-kir, suggested by Peiser, *KB.*, Vol. I.²⁸ See for this form also p. 67, rem. 1.—4. gar-ri ik-ta-din, "the enemy carried away."²⁹ In *CD.*, 653, col. 2, below,³⁰ the correct reading is given as ṣa-ri-ik ta-din. So also Johns: "was stolen (and) taken;" and Streck, *ZA.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 160, 161.—7. us-si-ḡi-aṣ-šu for uṣṣēṣi aṣṣu, "I carried it away."—Edge and rev. 4 are the interesting lines of this inscription, read by King: makkur ṣa-ga-ra-ak-ti-šur-ia-aṣ³¹ ṣar kiṣṣati. For a full discussion of this line, see King, pp. 65 sqq.

²⁰ So Schrader, *KB.*, Vol. II, p. 6, l. 12: Besold, *ibid.*, p. 82, l. 21; Hincks, *Amiaud*; Haupt and others. See *CD.*, p. 1045, col. 2: šīlmu, l.

²¹ So Jensen; King in this book, p. 111, l. 21; and others.

²² See Johnston, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XX, pp. 251, 252; *CD.*, p. 790, col. 1; Delitzsch, *Heb.*, p. 720, col. 1, below; Johns, *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, January, 1905, p. 295.

²³ See Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kassiter*, p. 10; and *Rec. Past.*, Vol. IV, p. 29, rem. 2.

²⁴ Published also in *KB.*, Vol. I, pp. 196, 197, col. ii, ll. 1 sqq.

²⁵ See King, "Introduction," pp. 60, 63-72. Transliteration and translation also in *KB.*, Vol. I, pp. 10, 11. In addition to the literature mentioned by King, pp. 65, 66, see also *Gött. Gelehrt. Anz.*, 1899, p. 868; and *ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 90.

²⁶ Rev., l. 2, we read matu Kar-du-ni-ši. See also Karduniaš, *CD.*, p. 429, col. 2.

²⁷ On the basis of *KB.*, Vol. I, p. 4, No. 5, l. 3, ṣa . . . u-na-ka-rum.

²⁸ So Tiele; Peiser, *KB.*, Vol. I, p. 11, rem. 5; *KAT.*, p. 454, rem., *Rev. Sémitique*, Vol. VII, p. 134, § 33.

²⁹ Against, *ibid.*, pp. 372, 373.

³⁰ The father of Bitil(i)ashu.

There is not the slightest reason to suppose that King has not found this reading, independent of Delitzsch.⁴⁰ We cannot but believe his statement⁴¹ that he has made out the meaning of this line of archaic characters which has puzzled translators of the text during the last thirty years.

d) *Accounts of the Capture of Babylon by Sennacherib*, on one of which he recovered the seal of Tukulti-Ninib I.—a. The capture in 702 B. C., from 55-10-3, 1 (= I R., pl. 37), col. i, ll. 19-36.⁴² It is a great pity that King has not followed the fine example of Bezold in giving the variant readings for which students of the Sennacherib texts will always be thankful to the editor of the *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*.—28. According to Bezold also 55-10-3, 1, reads TAG (= abnu) before a-*kar-tu*. This changes, of course, the translation somewhat.—29. That ŠA(=GAR)-ŠU(=KAT) is an ideogram is not yet beyond doubt. It may be šāšu, a synonym of bušū. See also Senn, col. ii, l. 56, where the variant ša-a-šu occurs. The libbi-ekalli^{pl.}-šu are perhaps the šigrēti, the ladies of the harem (Haupt); see CD., p. 1011, col. 1; or zikrēti; so Delitzsch, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1904, No. 49, cols. 3031, 3032, on Hammurabi-code, §§ 178, 180, ^{sa}1 zi-ik-ru-um, a woman. The zikrēti were the concubines (Nebenfrauen)⁴³ of king (or priests) in addition to the wife, the *ḫirtu*.—30. I am somewhat surprised that King does not mention—in parentheses at least—the Assyrian reading of ^{am}elu GAL-TE^{pl.}, certainly known to him. See Brünnow, No. 6865 on II R., pl. 51, cols. d-f, 47 = ti-i-rum and man-za-az(-)pa-ni.⁴⁴—On zammaru, zammeru, see also KAT³, p. 590; Zimmer, *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 93, 174-87; KB., Vol. VI (1), p. 387; CD., p. 284, col. 2; Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1758 (81-2-4, 65).—si-ḫir-ti, a genitive instead of the c. st. (siḫrat). um-ma-ni is scarcely = servants.⁴⁵—β. The capture in 689 B. C., from the Bavian inscription, ll. 43-54. These lines, together with the rest of the inscription, were thoroughly revised and collated by the author in the spring of 1894. The edition of this text has not yet been published. It is based upon the text of the tablet which is highest up in the gorge, and is restored from the other two duplicate tablets, the central and that nearest to the mouth of the gorge. The text shows many improvements upon former editions,⁴⁶ and we hope that King will not delay the publication of his edition of this important inscription. Lines 43-50 have been edited by Bezold in KB.,

⁴⁰ In his article, "Assur," published on p. 30 of the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, No. 20, December, 1903. See Peiser's remarks, *OLZ.*, loc. cit., col. 55, rem. 1: "Falls sie (the interpretation) von ihm (i. e., King) stammt!"

⁴¹ Preface, p. xi.

⁴² See KB., Vol. II, pp. 32-35.

⁴³ E. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, pp. 65, 67: a devotee.

⁴⁴ See CD., p. 562, col. 1, for other instances. Also K. 1353, 4 in Meissner's *Supplement*, pl. 17. King, *Magic*, Nos. 9, l. 15; 22, l. 16, and 18, l. 9. Tiru and manzas pāni are, apparently, almost synonyms.

⁴⁵ CD., p. 58, u(m)mānu, 1; Jensen, KB., Vol. VI (1), p. 457; Vol. IV, p. 192 (Neb. 233, l. 5).

⁴⁶ So in l. 46; but is it too hazardous to restore, with Bezold, ak-šu-ud after *kāta*u. [a-a] 46 ga-du, instead of adi. 52 and 53.

Vol. II, pp. 116-19.—47. read *ni(not mi)-siḫ-ti*.—57. *AN-GIŠ-BAR* is to be read *girru* rather than ¹¹ *Gibil*. See *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 8, l. 37, and rem. 2, *ibid.*; 390, 391; also *KAT.*³, pp. 364, rem. 2; 417, rem. 5; 562. Perhaps = *kirru*, √קִרַּךְ, for which see *CD.*, pp. 933, 934.—Instead of *ak-mu* read *aḫ-mu*—54 (end), “I destroyed (it) so that it became like unto a swamp.” That *u-s(š)al-lu* means “swamp” is not so certain. See *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 498, 499; *KB.*, Vol. IV, pp. 138, No. iv, l. 7 (K 317), where is mentioned “a property (a piece of land) consisting of six acres of land in a *u-s(š)al-la*” (Peiser here: “am Stadtrande”); 168, No. ii, l. 3, “the field of *Bit-I-bu-ni ultu eli du-uk-ku-di-in-du a-na u-s(š)al-la* (Peiser: zum Ufergebiet) of the Dubata-river.” See also p. 270, No. ix (Cyrus 174), 3, where *ša u-s(š)al-la* can scarcely mean “swamp” (Peiser: “von dem Felde”).

Pp. 123-37: APPENDIX. It contains nine fragments, the first four of which belong to a bowl-inscription of Shalmaneser I (about 1300 B. C.), recording the restoration of the great temple of Ishtar at Nineveh. On p. 124 the author severely criticizes some statements concerning these made by Johns in his article “Nineveh” in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. III (1902), cols. 3422 sq. It is most pleasing to observe the kindly acknowledgment of his mistake and acquiescence in this censure by Johns in his review of King’s book.⁴⁷ The texts are very fragmentary, and it is with great cleverness that King, pp. 130-32, pieces together a restoration of the original text. Lexicographically No. 3 (56-9-9, 187) shows in l. 5 the interesting plural *an-ša-ti-šu ak-sir u ma-aḫ[-te . . .]*, “the breaches I filled up and that which was fallen;” No. 4 (S. 2115), l. 4, *ina ri-i-bit*.—Pp. 133-36 are published, for the first time, two other building-inscriptions of Shalmaneser, found on fragments of bowls in the British Museum. They are numbered S. 2125 and Rm. 2606, where l. 3 shows the plural *ša-ḵap-ra-ti*, “tributary gifts.”—7 (end) read *e-nu(not mu)-ma*.—8. *iḫ-tab-tu si-kur-ra-te*, “the enclosed spaces had been rifled.” Johns prefers to read *’i-tab-tu* (√*abatu*), “and when the clamps had parted” (literally: carried themselves away). Three more fragments follow, exhibiting no special features.

This notice has grown greatly beyond the limits of space allowed even by the generous editor of this JOURNAL. That such is the case constitutes for author and the readers of his book the best proof of the great interest which its contents have elicited from the writer. We sincerely hope that Mr. King will soon follow up this initial volume with others. The book is almost luxurious in its make-up, and perhaps a trifle more expensive than Assyriologists are wont to pay for books of this size.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *Jour. of Theol. Studies*, January, 1905, p. 293.—But 1845 B. C. in l. 17 of p. 124 of King’s book is undoubtedly a misprint of King’s, not of Johns.

⁴⁸ But it scarcely deserves the scathing criticism of Peiser, printed in the first instalment of his review, *OLZ.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, February, 1905, cols. 54, 55.

Book Notices.

AEGYPTOLOGISCHE RANDGLOSSEN ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT.¹

In this brochure we have another welcome evidence of Spiegelberg's fruitful and many-sided activity. It contains contributions which no student of the Old Testament can afford to overlook. They are arranged in ten brief essays, discussing the following ten words, passages, or incidents in the Old Testament, demanding explanation from the monuments of ancient Egypt: I, "Zur Völkertafel (Gen. 10:6);" II, "Zu dem Aufenthalt der Abraham-Jacob- und Josephstämme in Aegypten;" III, "Abrek (Gen. 41, 43);" IV, "Der Name Asnath (Gen. 41:45; 50; 46:20);" V, "Zu Exodus 1:16;" VI, "Pi-hachiroth;" VII, "Zu dem Zug des Schischak gegen Juda;" VIII, "Sukkijim (2 Chron. 12:3);" IX, "No und Hanes im Delta (zu Nahum 3:8 und Jesaja 30, 4);" X, "Thachpanches = Daphnae."

In I, Spiegelberg would date the passage in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (712-663 B. C.), the age of Ethiopian supremacy, because of the fact that Kush is placed first of the sons of Ham. This would make the principle on which the list is formed a political one. The question arises, however, whether the precedence of Kush in the list is a fact of sufficient significance to justify so important a conclusion. In the great Aton hymn, written by an Egyptian, the Egyptian empire is divided into "Syria, Ethiopia, and the land of Egypt," with Syria first, although the hymn was not made at a time when Syria was politically uppermost; and yet the list is clearly a political one, with the dominant nation at the end. But Spiegelberg is undoubtedly right in concluding that the list of Gen. 10:6 is based on political considerations.

In II, Spiegelberg suggests that there is a kernel of truth behind the attempt of Josephus to identify the Hyksos with the Hebrews. This is a possibility which I had also advocated a year ago in the manuscript of my history of Egypt, now in the hands of the printer. As it becomes more and more evident, or at least more probable, that among the Hyksos lords there were powerful Beduin shekhs, who rallied the neighboring desert tribes to the support of the Hyksos, one cannot resist the conjecture that among these tribes were ancestors of the group of Hebrew tribesmen, who are later found in Egypt. The scarabs of unquestionable Hyksos date, bearing the royal name "Jacob-El," make it exceedingly probable that some such shekh gained royal power in the Hyksos age. However, the tradition preserved in Josephus depends so largely upon a sound criticism of Manetho, as a whole, that the entire question must be

¹ AEGYPTOLOGISCHE RANDGLOSSEN ZUM ALTEN TESTAMENT. Von Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Strassburg: Schlesier & Schweikardt, 1904. 48 pp.

probed more deeply. What still remains for such criticism to do has been brilliantly shown by Meyer in his recent elaborate study of Egyptian chronology.

Spiegelberg gives us an interesting suggestion in III, in explanation of the famous crux "Abrek," which he would make equivalent to the Egyptian *Yb-rk* = "attention!" Etymologically and phonetically the identification is unassailable; in meaning, too, it seems to suit the demands of the case excellently. A closer translation, however, discloses a difficulty, with which the author seems not to have reckoned. Literally the term *Yb-rk* means "*Thy* attention!" the pronoun *k* in *rk* being second person masculine singular. As the word is addressed to the multitudes before the chariot of Joseph, one expects a plural "*Your* attention!" and this plural is good usage in Egyptian in this phrase, as is shown by the passage in the papyrus Judiciaire de Turin (I, 8), where Ramses III addresses the judges with *Yb-rtn* = "Your attention!" I should be glad to hear what the author's opinion of this difficulty may be. It is of course, not impossible that the court heralds who preceded such an official might use the singular form, addressing each individual before them; but this does not to me seem probable. Hence I am still inclined to the old explanation of Brugsch, who makes the form (given in the Hebrew אֲבֵרֶךְ) from a rare Egyptian verb (a loan-word from the Semitic) *brk*, with the meaning "praise, do reverence." There is but one example of this verb in Egyptian, although the noun from it, with the meaning "tribute," occurs a number of times.

The other Egyptian original of the name of Joseph's wife, מִסֵּנָה, suggested by Spiegelberg (IV), is undoubtedly more than a possibility and may some time become important for the date of the passage containing it, when we know more of the history of Egyptian names.

In the explanation offered for the strange usage of the Egyptian women at the moment of accouchment (in V), Spiegelberg is to be congratulated upon a solid contribution to our knowledge of this interesting subject. He proves beyond a doubt that it was customary for the Egyptian women at the moment of delivery to sit upright upon two stools of brick between which the child was born. So common and old was the custom that "to sit upon the brick" was the Egyptian term for "be confined." This usage then clearly explains the strange and puzzling phrase in Exod. 8:16, referring to the observation of "the stones" or "the two stones" (or of the women sitting upon them?) by the midwives at the moment of birth, that they may determine the sex of the child. We have here also another interesting evidence of the knowledge of Egypt displayed by the E document.

The negative result in VI, that we know nothing of the real location or identity of מִי הָיָה, is timely. It has long been evident that the identification of Naville, who finds in it the Egyptian *Pr-krh't*, is impossible on phonetic grounds alone.

In VI the author upholds the accuracy of the Hebrew tradition that the campaign of Sheshonk-Shishak was directed against Judah alone,

and did not extend northward into Israel. This conclusion is based upon a reconstruction of the parallel rulers of Palestine and Egypt, in which I find myself unable to follow the author. There is no monumental authority for the conclusion that Solomon was the son-in-law of Psusennes II, and the author offers none. It is a traditional conclusion, resting upon the shakiest of chronological considerations. I am sure that the author would not have maintained it, had he considered the important Gezer incident (1 Kings 9:15-17), which has not been mentioned in his argument. The Pharaoh contemporary with Solomon was able to invade Palestine, to capture Gezer from the Canaanites almost at the gates of Jerusalem, and to present it to his daughter, Solomon's wife. This incident proves two things: First, the power of Solomon was very slight, if he was unable to capture and hold an old Canaanite stronghold at his very doors, and it becomes evident that he was at least for a time but a *Kleinfürst*, a petty dynast. Second, the power of Egypt in Palestine during Solomon's reign was not merely a tradition, a court fiction, but a Pharaoh of power and initiative was making his strong hand felt among the dynasts of neighboring Asia. It is impossible that this Pharaoh was Psusennes II or any other of the weak and decadent Tanites at the close of the Twenty-first Dynasty, who were but puppets in the hands of the powerful Libyan mercenary lords of the Delta, one of whom seized the throne as Sheshonk I, the founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, about 945 B. C. The revival of Egyptian power in Palestine, proven by the Gezer incident, cannot have occurred at the close of a weak and tottering dynasty, in whose whole career we do not learn of a single attempt to maintain Egypt's prestige abroad. It belongs to the rise of a new and powerful dynasty, anxious to recover the old conquests in Asia, and to the reign of Sheshonk I, of whose attempts in this direction we have contemporary monumental evidence. The readjustment of territory at the hands of the Pharaoh, by giving towns of one Palestinian dynast to another, is exactly in accordance with ancient oriental policy in the treatment of vassal rulers. The internal conflict which arose among the Hebrew tribes at the death of Solomon was too favorable an opportunity to be neglected by Sheshonk I, and I see no reason why his campaign did not include also Israel, as his list indicates. It contains many new names, displaying orthographic peculiarities throughout, not found in the earlier lists, from which it therefore cannot have been a mere copy. In this list the author has noted the occurrence of the name "The field of Abram," independently of the essay of the present writer, calling attention to it, in this JOURNAL, last October. This fact certainly speaks much for the validity of the identification.

The identification of the Sukkiyyim in VIII as a Libyan tribe seems very attractive and highly probable. Discussion X revives the identification by Brugsch of the 𐤓𐤕𐤍𐤏 of Nahum (3:8) with another city of Amon in the Delta, rather than with Thebes in Upper Egypt. For this purpose Spiegelberg collects new evidence. Nahum's description of the

city as surrounded by waters seems strongly to favor a location in the Delta, and the author regards this conclusion as irresistible. It seems to me, however, that there are other considerations to be weighed. The greatest city and the capitol of Assyria, is being warned of a coming destruction in an apostrophe by Nahum, and we expect of him, if he draws an analogy from the downfall of an Egyptian city, that the parallel will employ the greatest and proudest of the ancient seats of power in Egypt. The overthrow of some not at all important city of the Nile Delta offers no adequate parallel to the coming destruction of Nineveh. When one remembers that the irrigation canals of Upper Egypt formed in antiquity, as they do today, a vast network like a huge arterial system reaching everywhere, and when we further consider that Nahum's description is the most elevated poetry, his description of No-Amon does not seem incongruous as applied to Thebes. Spiegelberg's argument is nevertheless undoubtedly a strong one, and I may be too subjective in the above considerations.

Spiegelberg takes up Hanes in the same discussion, and would find this city in the Delta also. Both in Isa. 30:4 and in the *Hininši* of the Assyrian list he would recognize a Hanes of the Delta. Here new considerations, not hitherto applied to the question, have an important bearing. As I shall show in my forthcoming history, and in the fourth volume of my *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Hanes-Heracleopolis was a powerful principality at this time, dividing the dominion of Upper Egypt with the princes of Thebes. The principality of Hanes was therefore the next Egyptian power immediately above the Delta. Nothing could be more natural than the words of Isaiah, as he sees the messengers of Judah going to Tanis, the strongest city of the Delta, or even to Hanes, the powerful principality just beyond the Delta. For the same reason I see in the *Hininši* of the cuneiform the same city. It would, indeed, be remarkable if the Assyrian records did not record the submission of this principality, which, if not overthrown from its position of power immediately above the Delta, would have been a constant menace to the suzerainty of Assyria in the lower Nile valley. The order of the Assyrian list is not so stringently geographical that a principality bordering on those of the Delta should not be mentioned with them.

In X the series of discussions closes with some interesting notes on Tahpanhes. While I have not been able to agree with all of the author's conclusions in these ten discussions, it should be remembered that the material available in the development of several of them is scanty in the extreme. The instructive series forms a most useful compendium of the old solutions and the reasons for their rejection, while at the same time, modern methods are brought to bear upon them in most cases for the first time. With wide and many-sided knowledge the author has focused upon the questions treated an unusual array of material, which few men in the field of Egyptology command, and all will be grateful to him for these able and suggestive studies.

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TABLETS FROM TELLOH.¹

The monumental contributions of M. E. de Sarzec to the sum-total of the Babylonian material available for scholars have linked his name to Telloh and have immortalized him for all time. For more than twenty years his indefatigable energy has braved the fevers and other dangers of Babylonia, and dug out of the age-old mounds at Telloh some of the choicest remnants of ancient culture and civilizations. Many of the best inscriptional antiquities from Telloh have been transported and deposited in the Louvre, Paris, where they form one of the most attractive collections of remains of Babylonian civilization to be found in any museum in the world.

The most active transcriber and translator of these de Sarzec and other Louvre inscriptions is M. François Thureau-Dangin, one of the staff of Orientalists connected with that museum. He has published several accounts with some inscriptions descriptive of de Sarzec's finds in various French periodicals, but for the most part in *Revue d'Assyriologie* (Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 118 *sqq.*; Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 13 *sqq.*; No. 3, pp. 69 *sqq.*; Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 67 *sqq.*). He has gathered up many of these smaller inscriptions already published, and has added to them a large number of those hitherto unpublished.

The volume herewith examined contains 155 autograph plates of 431 different inscriptions, mostly from Telloh. The author has thrown his matter into six divisions, corresponding presumably to successive historical periods. These periods are (1) material anterior to UR-NINĀ; (2) from UR-NINĀ to the beginning of the domination of Agade; (3) the dynasty of Agade; (4) from the close of the dynasty of Agade to the beginning of the dynasty of Ur (UR-ENGUR); (5) from the advent of UR-ENGUR to the modification of the regal protocol under DUN-GI; (6) the close of the reign of DUN-GI and the reigns of Būr-Sin, Gimil-Sin and Ibi-Sin.

In order to make still plainer the historical and other material, the author presents somewhat in detail the character of the inscriptions which he has included in each division. This is a valuable detailed description of the large material embodied in the 155 plates. It shows the commendable care with which the authorities have kept track of the localities in which many of the separate finds were made, and also as carefully specifies the unknown origin of some valuable documents in the list.

The first division or series is made up of two groups of tablets of different origins. The first consists of eight tablets of unburnt clay found by de Sarzec at Telloh in 1893 in *tell* K, which is 250 meters southeast of the palace *tell*, and adjacent to the structure of UR-NINĀ. The second comprises seven tablets of burnt clay of unknown origin. This very fact adds to the interest attached to them, for they frequently mention a god,

¹ RECUEIL DE TABLETTES CHALDÉENNES. Par François Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903. Imperial 4to. xvi pages and 155 autograph plates.

SU-KUR-RU as an element in proper names. Thureau-Dangin is inclined to think that these documents may have come from the hitherto unidentified site Šurippak, for (DINGIR) SU-KU-RU is explained in more than one syllabary as Šuruppak. Of all the fifteen documents in this series only four bear dates. Two of these four dated tablets carry proper names that are significant, for they contain in them the element Šurupak; these are No. 14, which was written in the palā of MAŠ-ŠURUPAK, and No. 15, in the palā of INIM-ŠURUPAK-[]-ZI. Unfortunately, however, these data have slight value as yet, and all these fifteen documents are classified merely on the evidence of epigraphy.

The second division comprises sixty tablets (Nos. 16-76), many of them of good size, covering the period from UR-NINĀ to the beginning of the domination of Agade. Eight tablets of this division were found by de Sarzec at various dates at Telloh, and all the remainder were dug by the natives and purchased by the Louvre subsequent to the death of de Sarzec. The personnel of these tablets is notable. One tablet mentions URU-KA-GI-NA, King of Lagaš, and another is dated in the *patesiat* of LUGAL-AN-DA. There are several tablets that were the records of the palace, and more particularly of the harem in the time of the *patesiats* of EN-LI-TAR-ZI, LUGAL-AN-DA, and of the *patesi*-king, URU-KA-GI-NA. One tablet is dated in the *patesiat* of EN-TE-ME-NA and of the priesthood of EN-LI-TAR-ZI. This mention of both names in one tablet shows the proximity in time of these two authorities. LUGAL-AN-DA and URU-KA-GI-NA are doubtless to be placed very near the period of EN-LI-TAR-ZI. There is a bit of interesting evidence that the wife of EN-LI-TAR-ZI and BAR-NAM-TAR-RA wife of LUGAL-AN-DA employed the same servant ŠAĤ (Nos. 70 and 75), and that the servant EN-IG-GAL, frequently mentioned under LUGAL-AN-DA was equally at the service of URU-KA-GI-NA and of his wife ŠAG-ŠAG (No. 73).

The tablets of this entire series or division bear the same characteristics, they are baked, in form almost round and the writing is that familiarly known as characteristic of the historical inscriptions of URU-KA-GI-NA.

The third division embraces 103 tablets, some of them mere fragments, all found by de Sarzec, in the now famous "mound of tablets," at Telloh in 1895. These documents are placed by M. Thureau-Dangin in the domination of Agade. The many dates found in these inscriptions give them especial historical value. In the reign of Šargani-šar-ali there is one tablet dated from the year of the campaign against *Elam* and *Zahara* (No. 130), another from the conquest of Syria (Nos. 85 and 124), another from the founding of the temples of Anunit and of Amal at Babylon and of the capture of Šarlak, King of Kutā (No. 118), and another from the founding of the temple of Bēl at Nippur (No. 87). In the reign of Narām-Sin only one dated year is mentioned, that of the founding of the temple of Bēl at Nippur and of the temple of

Ištar at Ninni-Ab (Nos. 86, 106, 144). Other chronological data may be gathered either from the impressions of seals dedicated to Šargāni-šar-ali (Nos. 161-164), to Narām-Sin (Nos. 165-174), or to Bingāni-šar-ali, son of Narām-Sin (No. 169), or from a tablet mentioning the employees of Šargāni-šar-ali (No. 97). From two impressions of seals bearing the name of Lugal-ušum-gal (Nos. 162 and 165), it is concluded that this patesi was a contemporary of Šargāni-šar-ali and of Narām-Sin. He is also mentioned in the year of the campaign against Uruk and Naksu (No. 136) and on several other documents. Another patesi of Lagaš, UR-E is mentioned by side of Narām-Sin (No. 83). Every such reference in this list of tablets seems rightly to attribute these documents to the dynasty of Agade.

The fourth division comprises (with the one exception of No. 200) tablets found at Telloh by de Sarzec in 1898 and 1900 north of the "mound of tablets." Their period extends from the close of the dynasty of Agade to the beginning of the dynasty of Ur. The form and writing of these eighty-one documents fall into the limits in time indicated by this fourth division. The author has described this series in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 67 *sqq.* The first group belongs to time anterior to GU-DE-A. Among these tablets, we find of *patesis*, Bā-ša-ma-ma (No. 181), UG-ME (No. 182), UR-BA-U (No. 185), UR-GAR (No. 186), NĀM-MAĤ-NI (No. 187), KA-AZAG (No. 188), GALU-BA-U (No. 189), and GALU-GU-LA (No. 190). The reign of GU-DE-A forms a kind of centre for the events of a considerable area of time. In this reign we have several important occurrences, such as the building of temples, the digging of canals, and the construction of thrones. UR-NIN-GIR-SU, the son of GU-DE-A, likewise occupies an important place in the dating of some of these documents. Probably contemporaneous with, or very near to the date of GU-DE-A, we find mentioned the digging of the famous canal (GIŠ)-ŠUB-BA (No. 191), the building of the temple of the god GA-TUM-DUG (No. 205), of the temple of BA-GA (No. 212), of the temple of NIN-GIR-SU (No. 221), of the election of the high-priest of Ištar (No. 234) and of the opening of the canal BA-U-ĤE-GAL-SUD (No. 253). Several tablets name lists of articles or objects designed for the king or various members of his family, etc. Some of these dated tablets have lent color to the theory that there was a royal dynasty contemporaneous with GU-DE-A and his son, at least this material is worthy of careful study in that line.

The fifth division, embracing twenty-seven tablets, came from the same source as the fourth already described. They are dated in part in the reign of UR-ENGUR and of the *patesiat* of UR-AB-BA. When the reign of DUN-GI, son and successor of UR-ENGUR, begins among the mentioned dates, we are on reasonably familiar ground already discussed by the author (*Orient. Lit. Ztg.* 1898, pp. 161 *sqq.*) on the basis of Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 125.

The sixth division, consisting of 144 inscriptions, concludes the reign

of DUN-GI and embraces those of Bûr-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin. Eleven important dates in DUN-GI'S reign, seven each of Bûr-Sin's and of Gimil-Sin's reign, and one in Ibi-Sin's are found in this division. A careful investigation of these published documents will do much to fix more precisely the chronology of this hitherto troublesome period in old Babylonian history.

On the supposition that Nabonidus was correct in his reference to Nâram-Sin, the sway of Agade would be located in the thirty-eighth century B. C., the accession of Ibi-Sin about the thirty-fifth or fourth century, and that of EN-TE-ME-NA somewhere about 4,000 B. C.

M. Thureau-Dangin has done a useful piece of work in placing in the hands of scholars these 431 inscriptions of such ancient periods of history. They have already aided somewhat in the solution of some knotty little problems, and when studied in detail will doubtless add much to our knowledge of the historical and religious questions of those times.

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COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC GRAMMAR.¹

It is a pleasure to greet this old friend in a new dress. Nöldeke's *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, of which the first edition was published in 1880 and the second in 1898, has well deserved its reputation as one of the most satisfactory of all the standard textbooks in the Semitic field. It is, indeed, a "compendious" treatise, avoiding theories and for the most part recording phenomena without attempting to explain them. But as a clear and authoritative statement of the main facts of the grammar with which it deals, it would be difficult to surpass.

Probably few will question the wisdom of putting forth an English edition. While it is true that most students of Syriac in England and America would be able to use a German textbook without serious difficulty, yet there would certainly be some who could use only a book printed in English; and to many others—the great majority, it is safe to say—the practical value of any such treatise as this one is very much increased as soon as it lies before them in their own mother-tongue. Moreover, it is a remarkable fact that in this important field of Syriac grammar we should have remained up to this time without any English textbook which could be called even tolerably adequate.

Dr. Crichton's translation is a satisfactory one. It follows the German closely, occasionally so closely as to be awkward, or even difficult to understand without a second reading, but, so far as I have observed, it always gives the meaning of the original, and generally gives it clearly. The English edition also has some points of decided superiority

¹COMPENDIOUS SYRIAC GRAMMAR. By Theodor Nöldeke. Translated from the second German edition by James A. Crichton, D.D. London: Williams & Norgate, 1904. xxxiv+336 pp.

to the original. One of these is the use of rubrics in the margin at the beginning of every section, increasing the usefulness of the book for ready reference. Another, still more important, is the addition of a full "Index of Passages" at the end of the book, pp. 321-36. One of the most valuable features of Nöldeke's grammar is his carefully chosen and sifted collection of illustrative passages, and Dr. Crichton merits our warmest thanks for undertaking the labor of providing this index to them.

The general appearance of the book is like that of its original, the size of the page corresponding, and the type used (both Roman and Syriac) being the same. The proof-reading has been carefully done, though there are some corrections, noted in the table of errata on pp. 318 sq., which the reader will do well to make at once in his copy. The familiar and very useful "Schrifttafel" by Professor Euting has not been forgotten.

This translation does not profess to embody a new revision of the grammar; nor was revision to be looked for in a work of this character so soon after the appearance of the German edition. The translator says in his preface: "No attempt has been made to alter in any way either the substance or the arrangement of the Grammar. Citations, it is true, have been again verified, and slight errors here and there have been tacitly corrected." It appears also from the brief note of approval which Professor Nöldeke prefixes to the edition that Dr. Crichton's laborious undertaking of verifying the citations has borne good fruit. The translator has also in a few cases added a supplemental or explanatory remark of his own; thus, the notes on pp. 3, 111, 291; while on p. 134 an addition to note 2, signed "Translator," has been inserted in manuscript in the copy which I have before me. Moreover, in spite of the disclaimer of anything new in this English edition, the intimate friend of the book in its German form will notice here and there the work of its author's revising hand. Thus, in the second German edition, in § 194 (speaking of the forms in the perf. Peal from verbs *tertiæ* with suffixes) it was said: "Formen der 3. m. pl. auf *ūn(ā)* vor Suffixen sind mir von diesen Verben nicht bekannt geworden." But here (p. 146) two examples of the form are given, one from the Lewis Gospels, and the other from John of Ephesus.

One could wish that this work of retouching had been carried a little farther, especially in the way of including more of the illustrations of unusual forms and constructions furnished by the Lewis (or "Sinaitic") Gospels, both because of the age and importance of this oldest Syriac version, only recently made known to us, and also because of the extent to which it is sure to be used by students in need of expert guidance. There are found here some archaic or dialectic forms of considerable interest which should be recorded in every Syriac grammar. Thus, on p. 133, in tabulating the forms of the anomalous verbs ܠܐ and ܠܐܝܠ, Nöldeke gives the imperative of the former as "ܠܐ (with loss of the ܐ and with *ā*), f. ܠܐ; pl. ܠܐܝܠ," etc.; and the corresponding forms of the other

verb as "ܠܐ" (with falling away of the ܠ and with e), ܠܐ, ܠܐ," etc. No variation is noted in either case; and on p. 23, in the paragraph dealing with the occasional loss of an initial ܠ, it is said: "Even in writing, this ܠ is without exception wanting in . . . ܠܐ, ܠܐ, etc., 'come,' ܠܐ, ܠܐ, etc., 'go.'" But in the Lewis Gospels we have the imperative forms ܠܐ (Matt. 8:4; 9:6, 13; 21:28), fem. ܠܐ (Mark 7:29), and plur. ܠܐ (Luke 10:3; 22:10); and from ܠܐ similarly the imperatives ܠܐ (Matt. 19:21; Luke 9:59) and plur. ܠܐ (Matt. 11:28). These forms, which I have not seen noticed anywhere, are all the more interesting since they agree with the forms with initial ܠ which occur in biblical Aramaic and the later Jewish dialects, and are the rule in Palestinian Syriac.

One point in which the form of the statement would need to be modified in the light of recent discovery is the note in regard to the word ܠܐ used as the mark of the direct object, pp. 226 sq. The very sparing use of this particle in old Syriac is described, and the remark added, that "it was completely obsolete in the fourth century." But the inscription at Zebed, published by Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 47, seems to show that in some districts of Northern Syria the word continued to be used in the living speech at least as late as the fourth century.

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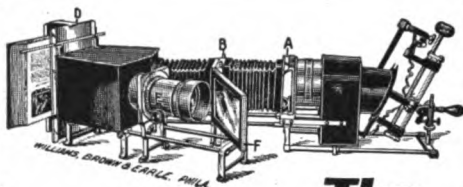
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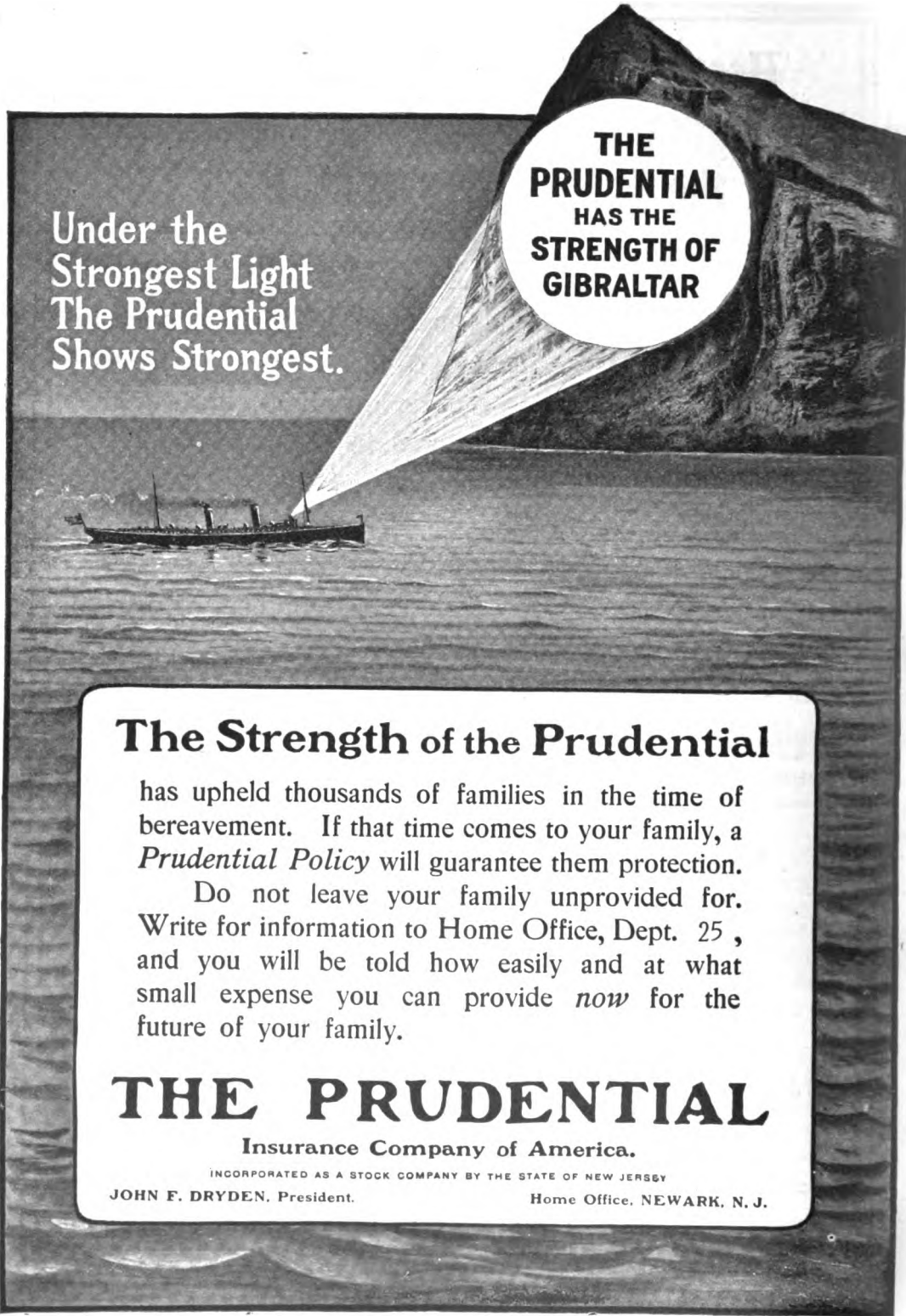
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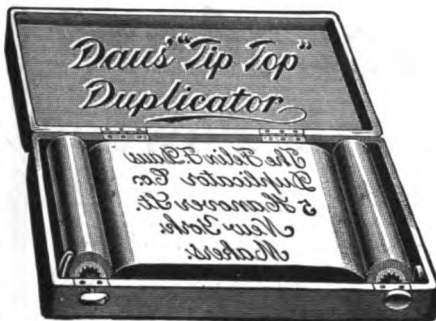
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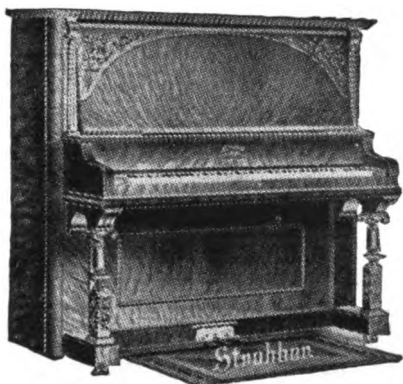
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